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# Anglican Theological Review

VOLUME XLIII

OCTOBER 1961

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# Anglican Theological Review

FOUNDED IN 1918 BY SAMUEL A. B. MERCER

EDITED BY

JOHN S. MARSHALL

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## EDITORIAL

Our present Prayer Book of 1928 is in effect the completion of the revision undertaken in the 1880's under the leadership of W. R. Huntington, the three principles of which were the recovery of lost treasures, provision for greater flexibility in the public services than had been customary, and recognition of the needs and interests of modern America. These are all admirable aims, but they are principles of liturgical amendment rather than of liturgical construction. Professor Massey Shepherd has suggested in his Bohlen Lectures that the 1928 Prayer Book may well be the last proof-reading of Cranmer's Liturgy, and that future revisions will have to proceed from more basic principles—much as in a related sphere it has occurred to others that the Revised Standard Version may well be the last revision of the Authorized Version of the Bible. There is no great point in simply going through the existing Rite and reflecting, "I would like it this way"—which was, as Dr. Shepherd hints, the weakness of the *Prayer Book Study* devoted to the Eucharistic Liturgy. Something deeper and more significant is needed to justify the labor of Prayer Book revision.

The first question to ask in any piece of liturgical construction is, what is the main purpose of this action? What do we do when we assemble to make Eucharist, to baptize, to ordain, or to offer our daily sacrifice of prayer and praise? With an answer to this question in mind we are then able to understand the traditional forms more properly, and to decide what changes, revivals, or adaptations would be desirable. Cranmer's work on the Ordinal is an excellent example of sound procedure—he wished to preserve the ancient Orders while at the same

time clarifying and broadening the Church's understanding of what Christian priesthood means (and incidentally the formal controversy about Anglican Orders is often confused when one side triumphantly points out that the Prayer Book Ordinal differs conspicuously from the Latin Pontifical and the other confines itself to replying that it is the same in essence). Two modern proposals have asked the right kind of question, although the results are weakened, I believe, by being based on somewhat unsatisfactory answers. The services of Christian Initiation recently put out by Committees of the English Convocations are based on the principle that for us, as for the early Church, adult Baptism after repentance and profession of faith should be the norm. This seems to me, at least, a misconception in that historically it confuses the common with the normal and theologically involves itself, as F. D. Maurice pointed out, in the idea that sin and unbelief are natural to man—which may be partly responsible for the rather cool reception that these proposals have met. Similarly in our American series of *Prayer Book Studies* the most worthwhile are those which do not merely mull over the existing services but dig deeper into what the whole business is about. Here the proposed *Ministration to the Sick* seems to let the pendulum swing too far towards an almost exclusive emphasis on the recovery of bodily health, whereas in some older forms there was an equally or even more deplorable over-emphasis on patience under affliction. But these English and American revisers have certainly both proceeded in the right manner, even though not achieving complete success. Before we commit ourselves to another official revision, which might turn out to be merely still another proofreading, there should be many experimental illustrations of the kind of thing which might be done, in order that the Church may duly come to a common mind as to what it really wants.

We are glad to present in this issue of the ANGLICAN THEOLOGICAL REVIEW a suggestive, if not formally proposed, Liturgy for the Eucharist which represents the long-continued interest in this subject of a member of the Order of the Holy Cross, and is intended, as indicated, to be a functional Rite. Father Spencer begins with a brief statement of what we do at the Eucharist, namely to unite the congregation in the adoration of the Father and in the love of Christ. Until recently our common devotional practice has often been based on the idea that the purpose of the Eucharist was to bestow spiritual blessings on the



individuals present, after suitable preparation for worthy reception. The Eucharistic Prayer, which should be the great moment of the service, has often been thought of as a necessary preliminary in order that Communion may be administered. This was not of course Cranmer's central idea, still less Bishop Seabury's. But it is what the service has often meant—so that even the phrase Holy Communion has come to suggest a blessing for individuals rather than the sacred sharing of redeemed mankind in the eternal sacrifice of the Lamb once slain.

It would be a pleasure to comment on this Liturgy in detail, but that would be to insert my comments between it and the reader, which I do not wish to do. I would like to add, however, that attention to detail, including details of aesthetic structure, is necessary along with the proposition of basic principles. Fr. Spencer has properly given attention to both aspects of drafting a Liturgy, which like a church building should be both functional and attractive. One formal weakness of our present official Rite is the lack of variation after the Offertory, where especially at a said Celebration it almost has the character of one long speech by the priest, changing only on the days for which Proper Prefaces are appointed. Fr. Spencer's provisions for greater variation and increased congregational participation in this part of the service are the kind of thing which we need. Another question for revisers is what is really wanted by way of preparation before the Liturgy proper begins with the Collect, in place of our present collection of odds and ends. I am sure Fr. Spencer is right in putting the General Confession here (as Roman Catholics and Lutherans do) rather than allowing it to interrupt the flow of the liturgical action as it inevitably does at any later point. A more radical question is whether it ought to be in the Eucharist at all, or in a separate and preparatory service—but that I will not go into here.

My own suggestion would be that readers of proposed or suggested Liturgies should have in mind the outline of a basic or minimum Rite, represented by the service described by Justin Martyr, as slightly enlarged in the following period, and then consider at each point whether further material is necessary or desirable. The basic order would be something like this:

Collect  
Prophecy, Epistle, or both

Gospel  
Sermon

Offertory  
Intercessions (here or before Offertory)  
Eucharistic Prayer (Sursum Corda to Our Father)  
Communion  
Thanksgiving and Dismissal

Every modern revision makes the actual Eucharistic Prayer more majestic and less penitential, in other words more truly eucharistic, than English 1662 or even American 1789. I am half-disposed myself to renounce efforts to make our Eucharistic Prayer better lest we should instead make it worse. Certainly in dealing with what the ancient Church often simply called "the Prayer" the greatest caution and reverence is called for, and also a certain devout boldness once the task is taken in hand, as Fr. Spencer has done. I would like to continue with further reflections, but enough is now said, I think, to indicate why we venture to commend Fr. Spencer's "Functional Liturgy" to our readers as a contribution towards the development of our eucharistic worship, not only towards greater beauty and clearer order, but also towards the greater reality and meaning which will make it even more valuable as a means of building up the Body of Christ in holiness and love.

E. R. HARDY, *Associate Editor*

## A FUNCTIONAL LITURGY

By BONNELL SPENCER, O.H.C.\*

West Park, N. Y.

The principle on which this liturgy has been constructed is that the Eucharist is one continuous action which can be described in a single sentence. A congregation, as a local instance of the Body of Christ, is gathered in him to be lifted up to the Father in worship and to be united with him and each other in Communion. This action for further clarity has been broken down into six successive steps, each indicated by a subtitle. Captions for individual items have been avoided, however, since they fragment a rite into its component parts and destroy its continuity. The essential function of a liturgy is to keep the attention focused on the major steps of the on-going action.

The first step is THE APPROACH TO THE ALTAR, the assembling of the people at the Mount of God. It consists of two closely related parts: the recognition of the Presence of the All-Holy, 'I saw also the Lord sitting upon a throne, high and lifted up;' and the appropriate response of the sinner, 'Woe is me, . . . because I am a man of unclean lips, and I dwell in the midst of a people of unclean lips.' Accordingly the liturgy opens with a seasonal Hymn or Introit (approaching from where we are in the Church Year), and proceeds to the Kyrie (treated as an act of humble reverence, not a plea for pardon), and when suitable to the occasion, the Gloria in Excelsis. The Collect for Purity, which asks for clean hearts with which to worship God, leads naturally to the Penitential Preparation. This is functionally fitting here both to our recognition of the Holiness of God, and to the first stage of the liturgy. Indeed, just because it is a *preparation*, to put it later in the service creates the impression of making a new beginning, and therefore separates off what precedes from what follows. Placed at the Offertory, it reduces the Ministry of the Word to a mere preliminary. Where it is now in our Prayer Book, it divides the Offertory from the Consecration. When inserted before the Communion, it isolates that from all that has gone before.

\*The Rev. Bonnell Spencer, O.H.C., is editor of *Holy Cross Magazine*. He is author of *Ye are the Body* and other works.

The priest and people, having been reassured by the mutual Absolutions that, if their penitence is sincere, they may approach the Holy Mount, now listen to God as he speaks in **THE MINISTRY OF THE WORD**. This is introduced by the Collect, which usually is a preliminary recognition of the need to which the lections give God's answer. A Lesson from the Old Testament may be included. The sermon, when there is one, comes immediately after the Gospel which it is intended to expound. It may be followed by a hymn or doxology as a response to its concluding ascription. This serves the further function of permitting the ministers to assemble at the altar for the Creed, which, as the culmination of the people's response to the Word, is required at all Celebrations. At this point notices may be given and, where it is the custom, the catechumens are dismissed with prayers and a blessing. Be it noted that they will have had a complete service of worship, penitence, instruction and prayer suited to their status, to which their final response appropriately is, 'Lord, I believe; help thou mine unbelief.'

The faithful, called by Christ the Word, now close ranks in the Salutation of Peace for **THE OFFERTORY**. This begins with the Great Intercession because it is important to realize that we approach God first as suppliants before we become offerers. Our needs are great, our gifts small. Only by keeping the latter in perspective will we avoid the Pelagianism which threatens the revived emphasis on the Offertory. To the same end, the recognition of the unworthiness of our offerings and the petition that the Holy Spirit unite us in Christ, who alone can make our oblation acceptable, find expression in the Offertory Prayer. In a word, we put ourselves into Christ's hands to be lifted up to the Father.

This he proceeds to do in **THE SACRIFICE OF THANKSGIVING**. Once more we start from where we are in the Church Year by incorporating into our initial participation in the heavenly worship the particular thanksgiving of the seasonal Preface. Then swept up to the Throne of God, we review in the consecratory giving of thanks his fundamental mighty acts—Creation, Incarnation, Redemption, Resurrection—and last but not least, the opportunity vouchsafed to us to participate in Christ's perfect Sacrifice through the Eucharist itself. The institution narrative has been deliberately included in the same paragraph, and addressed to the Father by the insertion of the words 'to thee' into the passage on the bread.

The prayer then moves inevitably to the anamnesis-oblation, with its petition that through its acceptance the whole Church may be renewed in the benefits of the Passion. And thence to the offering of ourselves, asking that the Holy Spirit may bestow on us the grace of a worthy Communion in Christ, thereby making 'our bounden duty and service' acceptable. The prayer culminates in the doxology (with the crucial addition of 'in whom'), at which point and not before would come the great elevation if it is made.

Although the Canon may seem at first glance to be considerably altered, it actually follows the pattern of our present prayer of consecration, except that the invocation, now intruded between the anamnesis-oblation and the prayer for its acceptance, has been removed. It has not been restored to its 1549 place, earlier in the prayer, because there it is equally intrusive, cutting off the institution narrative from the thanksgiving of which it is a part. The suggested Canon rests squarely on the thesis, widely accepted today and strictly biblical, that our Lord consecrates the Eucharist, as he did at the Last Supper, by taking bread and wine and giving thanks. The part that the Holy Spirit takes in the action has been duly noted in the Offertory Prayer and in the petition for his sanctification of the Oblation of the holy Church in the last paragraph of the Canon. In the Church Militant we live in the Spirit; it is by the Spirit we are united to Christ. For this we pray at the beginning and end of the process of consecration.

But we must also recognize that Christ himself is the High Priest as well as the Victim of the one perfect human Sacrifice of praise and thanksgiving, which he made once for all on Calvary, which he eternally presents in heaven, which he consecrates and offers sacramentally on earth in the Eucharist, and into which thereby he incorporates us. This the proposed Canon endeavors to express in three clear concise paragraphs, one for each step of the central eucharistic act: 1) Christ consecrates the elements by giving thanks over them through his Body the Church, making his Sacrifice present once more to us; 2) the Church prays that its participation on earth in the pleading of his Sacrifice will be acceptable in heaven and fruitful to all its members; 3) we offer ourselves in Christ, praying that the completion of our union with him in the reception of Communion will bring to us its benefits now and forever.

The next step, **THE BREAKING OF BREAD**, is the central hinge of the whole liturgy. Thus far we have been progressively gathered

and lifted in Christ to heaven. Now taking off from the last paragraph of the Canon, the action starts moving back toward earth. In this section we both linger with Christ on the heights and descend in him to the world. We repeat our praise and surrender to the divine will in the opening clauses of our Lord's own prayer, which we may boldly say because we are eucharistically one with him. But the petitions, beginning with 'Give us . . . bread,' turn our thoughts toward Communion and its fruits. Our attention now moves from the Father to Christ our Paschal Lamb, whom we first hail as our eternal Intercessor in heaven and then greet as he comes to be received. In the Humble Access, simplified and addressed to Christ on whom our minds at this stage of the liturgy remain fixed, we make a final recognition of our unworthiness. The prayer that follows in lieu of absolution recalls and pleads his promise to bestow on us, in spite of our sins, his peace.

In THE HOLY COMMUNION, two hymns are supplied so that the penitential Agnus will not have to be used on festive occasions. After the priest has received and communicated those in the sanctuary, he gives the Invitation to the people. This has been shortened and the 1552 Words of Administration fused with it. The administration formula is brief enough to be said to each communicant. Seasonal Communion Sentences are provided in order to suggest a theme for meditation and private thanksgiving while the ablutions are being taken. The Thanksgiving, carefully pruned, is said by the priest alone to balance the Collect, but the people stand and the Amen is expanded into a final burst of praise. This may help fill the void which will be felt by the shifting of the Gloria in Excelsis to the beginning. Although its repeated 'have mercy', which suits an initial act of worship, makes the Gloria most inappropriate as a thanksgiving for Communion, Anglicans have become so attached to it in this place that it will take much to dislodge it. There will probably have to be a rubric permitting its continued use here during the transitional period. The Dismissal, Peace and Blessing bring the rite to a close.

Thus the determining factor in deciding the position and form of the component parts of this liturgy has been their function in relation to the total scheme. Nothing has been done twice. Rather each item has been placed where it will make its greatest contribution, usually on two or more counts, to the on-going action. Nothing has been included merely for decorative purposes, for subjective devotional values, or for antiquarian considerations. It is hoped that due respect



has been paid to tradition—primitive, western, and above all Anglican which is where any revision of our liturgy must start. But no effort has been made to use things in the most primitive, most traditional, or most Anglican manner. Purists of any of these schools will not like this liturgy. Function in forwarding the essential action has been its ultimate criterion. Whether it has succeeded in producing a clean-cut, straight-forward expression of eucharistic worship is for the reader to decide.

This liturgy also intends to be functional in a second way. It accepts the thesis that the Eucharist is essentially a corporate act; it therefore aims at maximum participation by the laity. Although it can be celebrated by a priest assisted by only a small congregation, it is designed primarily for a full ceremonial involving many assistants. There are significant parts for a deacon, an epistoler and a reader of the Old Testament Lesson, in addition to servers, acolytes, a master of ceremonies, and even (for it is hoped that Anglican noses will not forever remain Protestant) a thurifer. When thus celebrated, meaningful pageantry can be employed. An entrance procession brings the ministers to the altar for the opening worship and penitence. After this they may retire to the sedilia for the lections. A Gospel Procession should be used, and following the sermon, the ministers return to the altar for the Creed, the culmination of the first part of the rite. The deacon may proceed to the choir step to give the Salutation of Peace, to lead the Intercessions, and to receive the elements brought up by an Offertory Procession. A second procession presents the alms. The action then shifts for the offering of the Sacrifice to the altar, to which the people go for their Communion.

But thus far only *representatives* of the laity are involved. It must never be forgotten that a congregation is just as passive when watching a spectacle, even though its representatives take part in it, as when listening to a monolog. How can this be avoided? To answer this question we must disabuse ourselves of the notion that participation means moving around from place to place. Dix is undoubtedly right when he says that action (by which he means physical motion) rather than words characterized the primitive rite. In those days that was quite natural. Accustomed as the early Christians were to the butchering of animals, the dancing and other activities that accompanied the sacrifices of the Jewish Temple and the pagan shrines, the Eucharist must in contrast have seemed rigidly restrained. Theirs would not to-

day. An attempt at a procession in which each person presented his own offering would produce only meaningless delay and confusion.

We must face the fact that we are heirs of a liturgy which for centuries has been primarily verbal. If such a form of worship makes congregational participation impossible, then to achieve the latter we must scrap the liturgy and substitute a ritual dance or imitate the holy rollers. Fortunately this is not necessary. For liturgical *action* can be expressed in words as well as motion. The answer for us to the problem of congregational participation is to give the laity their proper share in the recitation of the rite.

This liturgy has been constructed with that aim constantly in view. Besides the Kyrie (dignified by using the ninefold form), Gloria in Excelsis, Confession (followed by the people's prayer for the priest as well as his absolution of them), Creed, Sanctus, and Lord's Prayer, the people also say the Humble Access. Again and again they are drawn into the proceedings by salutations, dialogs or biddings, and to every action they are given a response which often is longer than the traditional Amen. Hymns and chants are liberally provided, among which should be noted the psalm after the Old Testament Lesson, and the canticle which may be used for a Gradual. The Intercession is put into litany form, and even in the Canon the principle of having the people join in the Sanctus has been extended to let them share the anamnesis and the self-oblation. Liturgically speaking they have plenty to do.

The suggested arrangements at the Offertory give another and still more important emphasis to the people's participation. The current featuring of this step in the liturgy is rightly designed to recall that in presenting the bread and wine we are offering ourselves. But the elements are after all symbols, and there is grave danger that they may remain empty symbols. The dressing up of their presentation will not in itself put reality into them. The sacrament of self-oblation is sacrificial giving of one's substance, which means at least the tithe, and often should be more. For what is the usual objection to tithing? 'I can't afford it.' Exactly. To tithe one must reorganize one's expenditures. But can anything less be an expression of real self-oblation? Is it enough to spend all we want on ourselves and then give God what happens to be left over?

This liturgy therefore does not follow the usual current device of having the elements and alms brought up together. That too easily

suggests that they are two distinct forms of self-offering, liturgical and (unfortunate necessity) financial. It also involves a pause while the chalice is being prepared which, after it has been done a few times, becomes meaningless and awkward. The important *action* here is not that the people *watch* themselves being poured into the chalice, but that they *make* a real sacrificial offering of themselves. So the Offertory rubrics here presuppose that the elements will be brought up first and *exchanged* for the collection plates. While the priest at the altar is preparing the symbols of their self-oblation, the people in the pews are putting reality into them. Then both the collection and the elements are presented at the altar together in the Offertory Prayer.

It is realized, of course, that this liturgy involves revisions too extreme to be adopted in the near future. Its purpose is simply to put forth for consideration, correction, or if it deserves it, rejection, a possible ideal toward which we might be working.

This liturgy is a by-product of several years' research in the variations, proposed or accomplished, of the Prayer Book Communion Office. It incorporates many suggestions of friends as well. But the author takes full responsibility for it. If anyone thinks him presumptuous in undertaking a revision proposal single-handed, he is quite prepared to admit he has failed in his attempt. But he makes no apology for having tried. He is convinced by the history of Anglican revisions beginning with 1549 that a good liturgy must be fundamentally the work of an individual. Rites produced by groups have a tendency to emerge as camels—you know the old definition, 'a camel is a horse put together by a committee.'

### GENERAL RUBRICS

*In the rubrics of the Liturgy the title Priest is used to designate the portions which shall be read only by the Celebrant. The title Minister is used when they may be read by an assistant, if there be one but are to be taken by the Celebrant himself, if he have no assistant. But note, That he who readeth the Biddings, the Gospel, or the Great Intercession, or who ministereth the Bread or the Cup at the Communion, shall always be at least in Deacon's Orders.*

*The Liturgy shall always be recited throughout, by both Ministers and People, in a distinct and audible voice; but it is not intended, by the use in the rubrics of any particular word denoting vocal utterance, to prescribe the tone and manner of its recitation. When addressing*

*the People, or reading from Holy Scripture, the Minister shall always stand facing the congregation.*

*The signs V and R indicate that those portions may be recited alternately by the Minister and the People; or sung antiphonally by two parts of the Choir; or in unison throughout.<sup>1</sup>*

*It is strongly urged that nothing be added, whether recited publicly or said privately by the Celebrant, that shall hinder, interrupt, or alter the course of the Liturgy.*

### GENERAL INTROITS<sup>2</sup>

*If no Proper Introit be appointed, one of the following shall be read. On Sundays any one of the seven may be used. It is suggested that 2 through 7 be used on Mondays through Saturdays respectively. But note, That a Hymn or other Anthem may always be substituted for the Introit.*

THE hour cometh and now is, when the true worshippers shall worship the Father in spirit and in truth: for the Father seeketh such to worship him.

*V* This is the day which the Lord hath made.

*R* We will rejoice and be glad in it.

*V* Glory be. *R* As it was. *All.* The hour cometh, etc.

2. Thou art worthy, O Lord, to receive glory and honour and power: for thou hast created all things, and for thy pleasure they are and were created.

*V* O praise God in his sanctuary.

*R* Praise him in the firmament of his power.

*V* Glory be. *R* As it was. *All.* Thou art worthy, etc.

3. Jesus saith, Come unto me all ye that labour and are heavy laden, and I will refresh you. Take my yoke upon you and learn of me; for I am meek and lowly in heart: and ye shall find rest unto your souls.

*V* O let thy loving mercies come unto me, that I may live;

*R* For thy law is my delight.

<sup>1</sup>There is no other satisfactory way of indicating these alternatives in the text. This will explain the signs to any not familiar with them.

<sup>2</sup>An initial seasonal act of worship is of sufficient importance to be required. At a sung Celebration an appropriate hymn will serve this purpose, or an anthem such as the Venite might be used. But when the service is said, Introits are needed. The traditional form has been followed, both because the repetition of the opening sentence emphasizes the seasonal note, and because the people can participate if they have the text before them. To this end the General Introits should be printed in the Prayer Book on the page opposite the beginning of the liturgy.

*V* Glory be. *R* As it was. *All.* Jesus saith, Come unto me, etc.

4. Behold, the tabernacle of God is with men, and he will dwell with them, and they shall be his people, and God himself shall be with them, and be their God.

*V* Surely his loving-kindness and mercy shall follow me all the days of my life:

*R* And I will dwell in the house of the Lord for ever.

*V* Glory be. *R* As it was. *All.* Behold, the tabernacle, etc.

5. O that men would praise the Lord for his goodness; and declare the wonders that he doeth for the children of men! That they would offer unto him the sacrifice of thanksgiving, and tell out his works with gladness!

*V* Praise the Lord, O my soul:

*R* And all that is within me, praise his holy Name.

*V* Glory be. *R* As it was. *All.* O that men, etc.

6. Through Christ let us offer the sacrifice of praise to God continually, that is, the fruit of our lips giving thanks to his Name.

*V* Praise the Lord, O my soul; while I live, will I praise the Lord.

*R* Yea, as long as I have any being, I will sing praises unto my God.

*V* Glory be. *R* As it was. *All.* Through Christ, etc.

7. Seek ye the Lord while he may be found; call upon him while he is near.

*V* The Lord God is a light and a defence; the Lord will give grace and worship:

*R* And no good thing will he withhold from them that live a godly life.

*V* Glory be. *R* As it was. *All.* Seek ye the Lord, etc

### THE LITURGY

for the Celebration of the

HOLY EUCHARIST

with the Administration of the

HOLY COMMUNION

*The Altar shall have upon it a fair white linen cloth, and other furnishings meet for the Celebration of the holy Mysteries.*

### THE APPROACH TO THE ALTAR

*If the Introit (or a Hymn or other Anthem) be not sung at the entrance of the Ministers, the Priest shall recite the Introit responsively*

*with the People after he hath reached the Altar. After the Introit shall follow,*

<i>V</i> Kyrie eleison. <sup>a</sup>	<i>or</i>	Lord, have mercy upon us.
<i>R</i> Kyrie eleison.		Lord, have mercy upon us.
<i>V</i> Kyrie eleison.		Lord, have mercy upon us.
<i>R</i> Christe eleison.		Christ, have mercy upon us.
<i>V</i> Christe eleison.		Christ, have mercy upon us.
<i>R</i> Christe eleison.		Christ, have mercy upon us.
<i>V</i> Kyrie eleison.		Lord, have mercy upon us.
<i>R</i> Kyrie eleison.		Lord, have mercy upon us.
<i>V</i> Kyrie eleison.		Lord, have mercy upon us.

*Then upon all Sundays (except in Advent, and from Septuagesima to Palm Sunday inclusive); upon all Feasts; upon days within appointed Octaves; and upon all days in the Festal Seasons from Christmas to Epiphany, and from Easter to Trinity Sunday inclusive: shall be said, GLORY be to God on high, and on earth peace, good will towards men.<sup>4</sup> We praise thee, we bless thee, we worship thee, we glorify thee, we give thanks to thee for thy great glory, O Lord God, heavenly King, God the Father Almighty.*

O Lord, the only-begotten Son, Jesus Christ; O Lord God, Lamb of God. Son of the Father, that takest away the sins of the world, have mercy upon us. Thou that takest away the sins of the world, receive our prayer. Thou that sittest at the right hand of God the Father, have mercy upon us.

For thou only art holy; thou only art the Lord; thou only, O Christ, with the Holy Ghost, art most high in the glory of God the Father. Amen.

*Then shall the Priest say,*

The Lord be with you.

*People.* And with thy spirit

*Priest.* Let us pray.

*The People kneeling, the Priest shall continue,*

<sup>a</sup>The English translation is incurably penitential. Even the more accurate 'Lord, have mercy' is little help. If the Kyrie is to be *understood*, the Greek must be restored. Since the English is retained only for the transitional period, it might as well be left in the traditional form that fits the music.

<sup>4</sup>Inaccurate though this may be, it is vastly better than 'men of good will', which suggests a nice chap who means well and is kind to animals, but who of course never goes to church. The Greek phrase is untranslatable, and the present form is as close as we are likely to get. Modern proposals for other changes in the Gloria have not been adopted, since they disturb the familiar text without improving its meaning.



ALMIGHTY God, unto whom all hearts are open, all desires known, and from whom no secrets are hid; Cleanse the thoughts of our hearts by the inspiration of thy Holy Spirit, that we may perfectly love thee, and worthily magnify thy holy Name: through Christ our Lord.  
Amen.

*The Minister may read the following Sentences from Holy Scripture.<sup>a</sup> But note, That the Ten Commandments and the Summary of the Law, as given in the Office of Preparation, may be used instead.*  
GOD spake these words and said:

Ye shall be holy: for I the Lord your God am holy.  
And our Lord Jesus Christ saith:

Thou shalt love the Lord thy God with all thy heart, and with all thy soul, and with all thy mind. This is the first and great commandment. And the second is like unto it: Thou shalt love thy neighbour as thyself. On these two commandments hang all the Law and the Prophets. Hear also what Saint John saith:

If any man sin, we have an Advocate with the Father, Jesus Christ the righteous. If we confess our sins, he is faithful and just to forgive us our sins, and to cleanse us from all unrighteousness.

*Then shall the Minister say,*

Let us humbly confess our sins unto Almighty God.

*The Ministers kneeling down, all shall say,*

ALMIGHTY God, Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, Maker of all things. Judge of all men; We acknowledge and confess our manifold sins, Which we have committed by thought, word, and deed, Against thy Divine Majesty. We do earnestly repent, And are heartily sorry for these our misdoings. Have mercy upon us, have mercy upon us,<sup>b</sup> most

*But, except on Sundays and Major Feasts, the following Confession may be substituted.<sup>c</sup>*

O Almighty Father, Lord of heaven and earth, We confess that we have sinned against thee in thought, word, and deed. Have mercy upon us, O God, after thy great goodness; According to the multitude of thy mercies, Do away our offences and cleanse us

<sup>a</sup>These optional Sentences stress the continuity of God's call through the Old Testament, Gospel and Church. They might be taken by the one who is to read the Old Testament Lesson.

<sup>b</sup>The deletions are today generally desired, but the repetition of 'have mercy' is retained for a poetic touch.

<sup>c</sup>If this Confession were made familiar by use on weekdays, it might be usable in the sickroom, for which it is now provided.

merciful Father; For thy Son  
our Lord Jesus Christ's sake,  
Forgive us all our sins.\* And  
grant that we may ever hereafter  
Serve and please thee in newness  
of life, To the honour and glory  
of thy Name; Through the same  
Jesus Christ our Lord, Amen.

from our sins; For Jesus Christ's  
sake. Amen.

*Then shall the People say,*  
ALMIGHTY God have mercy upon thee, Forgive thee all thy sins, And  
bring thee to everlasting life.<sup>9</sup>

*Priest. Amen.*

*Then the Priest (the Bishop if he be present) shall stand up and say,*  
ALMIGHTY God, our heavenly Father, who of his great mercy hath  
promised forgiveness of sins to all those who with hearty repentance  
and true faith turn unto him; Have mercy upon you; pardon and de-  
liver you from all your sins; confirm and strengthen you in all good-  
ness; and bring you to everlasting life.<sup>10</sup> *Amen.*

### THE MINISTRY OF THE WORD

*Then shall the Priest say,*

The Lord be with you.

*People. And with thy spirit.*

*Priest. Let us pray.*

*Then shall he say the Collect or Collects of the Day.*

*Here, if Morning Prayer have not been publicly said immediately  
before the Liturgy, may be read the Old Testament Lesson therein  
appointed; which may be followed by a Psalm, or a portion of a Psalm.  
The Announcement of this Lesson and the People's Response after it  
shall be as those for the Epistle.*

*The People shall sit for the reading of the Lesson and of the Epistle.*

*Then shall the Minister read the Epistle, first saying,*

A Lesson from the (—) Epistle (Book) to (of) —.

*The Epistle ended, the People shall say,*

Thanks be to God.<sup>11</sup>

<sup>9</sup>Forgive us *all* that is past' smacks of total depravity.

<sup>10</sup>This corrects the present anomaly of the priest making his confession and receiving  
no absolution.

<sup>11</sup>'Through Jesus Christ' is omitted because this is a declaration not a prayer.

<sup>12</sup>'Here endeth' is not needed and a response by the people is. To say both sounds  
silly.

*Here may follow the Gradual, a Hymn or one of the Canticles of Morning Prayer.*

*He who is appointed to read the Gospel may say privately,<sup>12</sup>*

Cleanse my heart and my lips, O Almighty God, who didst purge the lips of the Prophet Isaiah with a live coal; and of thy gracious mercy, vouchsafe so to purify me that I may worthily proclaim thy holy Gospel; through Christ our Lord. Amen.

*Then, the People standing, the Minister shall read the Gospel, first saying,*

The Lord be with you.

*People.* And with thy spirit.

*Minister.* Hear the Holy Gospel according to Saint ———.

*People.* Glory be to thee, O Lord.

*After the Gospel, the People shall say,*

Praise be to thee, O Christ.

*Here followeth the Sermon, after which an appropriate Hymn or Doxology may be sung.*

*Then the Priest and People together shall say,*

I BELIEVE in one God:<sup>13</sup>

The Father Almighty, Maker of heaven and earth, and of all things visible and invisible.

And in one Lord Jesus Christ, the only-begotten Son of God; Begotten of the<sup>14</sup> Father before all worlds; God, of God; Light, of Light; Very God, of very God;<sup>15</sup> Begotten, not made; Being of one substance with the Father. All things were made by him,<sup>16</sup> Who for us men and for our salvation came down from heaven, And was incarnate by the Holy Ghost of the Virgin Mary, And was made man: And was crucified also for us under Pontius Pilate; He suffered and was buried: And the third day he rose again according to the Scriptures; And ascended into heaven, and sitteth at<sup>17</sup> the right hand of the

<sup>12</sup>A few of the more desirable private devotions for the priest are provided, in the hope that the repeated interruptions of the liturgy some indulge in may be restrained.

<sup>13</sup>Alterations in so familiar an item as the Creed are difficult to accomplish. But its meaning should be unmistakably clear, as now it is not. The best plan is to make all needed changes at one time, relearn the Creed, and get it over. A paragraph is made at this point to assert our belief in *one* God before speaking of the Persons.

<sup>14</sup>Every man is son of *his* father; Christ is Son of God *the* Father.

<sup>15</sup>Pauses at the commas will avoid the misunderstanding, God of *gods*, etc.

<sup>16</sup>Perhaps this is too drastic; but it is biblical (John 1:3). A new sentence is justified, since the first defines who Christ is, this speaks of his works. Probably nothing less, not even 'through whom', will convince people that 'whom' refers to Christ.

<sup>17</sup>So reads 1549 and the text of the Gloria in Excelsis.

Father: And he shall come again with glory, to judge both the living<sup>18</sup> and the dead; His<sup>19</sup> kingdom shall have no end.

And I believe in the Holy Ghost, the Lord, The<sup>20</sup> Giver of Life, Who proceedeth from the Father through the Son;<sup>21</sup> Who with the Father and the Son together is worshipped and glorified; Who spake by the Prophets. And I believe in<sup>22</sup> One Holy Catholic and Apostolic Church; I acknowledge one Baptism for the remission of sins: And I look for the Resurrection of the dead; And the Life of the world to come. Amen.

*Here the necessary notices are given. On Sundays shall be declared unto the People what Holy Days, or Days of Fasting or Abstinence, are in that week to be observed. If a Celebration of the Liturgy be announced, the Exhortation to the Holy Communion may be read. Special Prayers of Intercession or Thanksgiving may also be used.*

*If it be the custom of the place, the Catechumens may here be dismissed with appropriate Prayers and a Blessing. A Hymn may be sung.*

### THE OFFERTORY

*When there is a Deacon, he may stand at the entrance of the choir for the Great Intercession.*

*Minister.* The Peace of the Lord be always with you.

*People.* And with thy spirit.

*Minister.* Let us pray for the whole state of Christ's Church.

*The People kneeling, the Minister shall face the Altar and say,* ALMIGHTY and everliving God, who hast taught us in the Name of thy dear Son<sup>23</sup> to make supplications, and to give thanks, for all men; We humbly beseech thee to receive these our prayers, which we offer unto thy Divine Majesty.

*People.* Hear us, O Lord.

*Minister.* Inspire continually the Universal Church with the spirit of

<sup>18</sup>'Quick' in this sense is totally obsolete.

<sup>19</sup>Christ's kingdom, not that of the living and dead.

<sup>20</sup>The Holy Ghost is God (Lord), not merely Lord of Life.

<sup>21</sup>On what authority do we use the *filioque*? No General Council has endorsed it; the Orthodox reject it. Do we here recognize papal authority? As 'through the Son' is acceptable to the Orthodox, it may claim ecumenical consent.

<sup>22</sup>It is wise these days to assert that we not only believe the Church, but *in* the doctrine concerning the nature of the Church. All want to restore 'Holy'.

<sup>23</sup>Christ's promise that prayer in his Name will be heard is more germane than the present reference to the Apostle.

truth, unity, and concord; that it may ever keep the faith once delivered to the saints.<sup>24</sup>

*People.* Hear us, O Lord.

*Minister.* Give grace to all Bishops and other Ministers,<sup>25</sup> that both by their life and doctrine, they may set forth thy true and lively Word, and faithfully administer thy holy Sacraments.

*People.* Hear us, O Lord.

*Minister.* Dispose the hearts of thy People so to hear and receive thy Word, that they may serve thee in holiness and righteousness all the days of their life.

*People.* Hear us, O Lord.

*Minister.* Hasten the fulfilment of thy kingdom, O Lord; and inspire many to labour, at home and abroad, for the spread of thy Gospel, and the knowledge of thy truth.

*People.* Hear us, O Lord.

*Minister.* Direct the rulers of the nations in the paths of justice and peace, that under them the world may be godly and quietly governed.

*People.* Hear us, O Lord.

*Minister.* Prosper and guide those who produce or distribute the necessities of life, that all may duly share in the gifts of thy bounty.

*People.* Hear us, O Lord.

*Minister.* Endue with strength and patience all who, in this transitory life, are in trouble, sorrow, need, sickness, or any other adversity.

*People.* Hear us, O Lord.

*Minister.* Have mercy upon thy servants who have departed this life in thy faith and fear, granting them refreshment, light and peace in thy perfect service.

*People.* Hear us, O Lord.

*Then shall the Priest say,*<sup>26</sup>

FINALLY, O heavenly Father, we bless thy holy Name for the Virgin Mary and all thy Saints, the chosen vessels of thy grace, and the lights

<sup>24</sup>If these petitions at first seem abrupt, compare the Lord's Prayer—give, forgive, lead, deliver. The final clause of this petition seems preferable to saying the same thing twice as at present. By eliminating groveling verbiage and duplications, more petitions have been fitted into a prayer of the same length.

<sup>25</sup>As there are now more lay readers than clergy, it is a strange time to limit this to bishops, priests and deacons. Note that the prayers for the Church are kept together. There is no good reason why we should put the state before the bishops. The petition for missions makes a natural transition to the world. The adjective 'lively' is preferred to 'living', because the latter is so colorless in this context.

<sup>26</sup>This serves as the Collect with which a litany ends. When a deacon reads the litany at the choir step, it is closed by the priest at the altar.

of the world in their several generations; beseeching thee that we, rejoicing in their fellowship, following their examples, and aided by their prayers, may be partakers with them of thy heavenly kingdom. Grant this, O Father, for Jesus Christ's sake, our only Mediator and Advocate, who liveth and reigneth with thee, in the unity of the Holy Ghost, one God, world without end. *Amen.*

*Then shall the Minister say,*

Let us humbly present our offerings unto the Lord.

*Here may be added one of these Sentences following.<sup>27</sup>*

Offer unto God the sacrifice of thanksgiving, and call upon the Name of the Lord.

To do good, and to communicate, forget not; for with such sacrifices God is well pleased.

The sacrifice of God is a troubled spirit: a broken and contrite heart shall he not despise.

*Or some other appropriate Sentence from Holy Scripture may be used.*

*The bread and wine may be brought to the Minister by representatives of the People.*

*The Corporal shall be spread on the Altar, and the Priest shall prepare and place beside it sufficient bread, and wine mixed with a little water, during which he may say privately,*

O God, who didst wonderfully create, and yet more wonderfully renew the dignity of the nature of man; grant unto us that, through the mystery of this water and wine, we may be sharers in the divinity of him who vouchsafed to be made partaker of our humanity, Jesus Christ thy Son our Lord, who liveth and reigneth with thee, in the unity of the Holy Ghost, one God, world without end. *Amen.*

*Meanwhile the Alms of the People may be received, and an Anthem<sup>28</sup> or Hymn be sung. The Alms shall be brought to the Priest, who shall humbly present them, and place them upon the Altar.*

*Then shall the Priest offer and place upon the Corporal the bread and wine. During the Offering the People shall stand, and the Priest shall say,*

<sup>27</sup>This liturgy provides an honest Bidding to the Offertory in place of the subtle hint given by the Offertory Sentences as now used. The three Sentences included here are for use on festal, ferial and penitential occasions respectively, to indicate the nature of our offering when no collection is taken. With the Proper Preface following in a moment, the elaborate sets of seasonal Sentences sometimes proposed are unnecessary.

<sup>28</sup>The chief function of the choir is to lead the people in singing, not to substitute for them. The music of the people's part of the liturgy should therefore be simple enough for them to sing. But there is no reason why the choir, if it can handle more elaborate music, should not make its special offering of an anthem, provided it be liturgical, not operatic.



THINE, O Lord, is the greatness, and the power, and the glory, and the victory, and the majesty.

*People.* All things come of thee, O Lord, and of thine own have we given thee.

*Priest.* Accept us, O merciful Father, in these our gifts, the fruits of the earth and of human toil, not weighing our merits, but pardoning our offences: And as the wheat scattered upon the mountains hath been made one loaf; grant us by thy Holy Spirit to be made one in Christ, our great High Priest, that he may render our oblation a sacrifice acceptable unto thee, who livest and reignest world without end. *Amen.*

*The Alms shall be removed from the Altar.*

*Then may the Minister say,*

Pray, Brethren, for —, and for all whom ye would remember before the Throne of God.

*It is recommended that no additional Prayers be said at this place. While the private Intercessions are being made, the Priest may wash his fingers,<sup>20</sup> saying silently,*

I will wash my hands in innocency, O Lord; and so will I go to thine altar.

That I may show the voice of thanksgiving, and tell of all thy wondrous works. Glory be.

## THE SACRIFICE OF THANKSGIVING

*Then, the People still standing, the Priest shall say,*

The Lord be with you.

*People.* And with thy spirit.

*Priest.* Lift up your hearts.

*People.* We lift them up unto the Lord.

*Priest.* Let us give thanks unto our Lord God.

*People.* It is meet and right so to do.

*Priest.* It is verily<sup>20</sup> meet, right and our bounden duty, that we should at all times, and in all places, give thanks unto thee, O Lord, Holy Father, Almighty. Everlasting, God.

*Here shall follow the Proper Preface, according to the time, if there be any specially appointed; or else immediately shall be said,*

*Priest.* Therefore with Angels and Archangels, and with all the company of heaven, we laud and magnify thy glorious Name, evermore praising thee, and saying,

<sup>20</sup>Those who advocate putting the lavabo earlier are clearly not accustomed to using incense. After censuring the offerings, the lavabo is often needed.

<sup>20</sup>The correct translation is worth two extra letters.

*The Priest and People together shall say,*  
 HOLY, HOLY, HOLY, Lord God of hosts: Heaven and earth are full of thy glory: Glory be to thee, O Lord most high.<sup>31</sup>

*Then, the People kneeling, the Priest shall say,*  
 ALL glory be to thee, O Lord, Holy Father, Almighty, Everlasting God,<sup>32</sup> for that thou of thine infinite bounty didst frame the worlds and madest man in thine own image; and of thy tender mercy didst give thine only Son Jesus Christ to take our nature upon him, to suffer death upon the cross for our redemption, and to rise again for our sanctification: who made, by his one Oblation of himself, the one perfect sacrifice unto thee, and full satisfaction for the sins of the whole world:<sup>33</sup> and did institute and in his holy Gospel command us to continue a perpetual memory of that his precious death and sacrifice, until his coming again.

*Here the Priest placeth his hands upon the bread.*  
 For in the night in which he was betrayed. he took bread; and when he had given thanks to thee, he brake it, and gave it to his disciples, saying, Take, eat, this is my Body, which is given for you. Do this in remembrance of me.

*Here the Priest placeth his hands upon the vessels containing the wine.*

Likewise, after supper. he took the cup; and when he had given thanks, he gave it to them, saying, Drink all ye<sup>34</sup> of this; for this is my Blood of the New Covenant, which is shed for you and for many, for the remission of sins. Do this, as oft as ye shall drink it, in remembrance of me.

*Then, the Priest kneeling down, all together shall say,*  
 THE death of Christ we commemorate; In his resurrection we re-

<sup>31</sup>Nothing, not even Amen. and certainly not the Benedictus, should be intruded into this perfect link of the Sanctus with the Canon.

<sup>32</sup>The effectiveness of the link depends on the exact repetition of the clause added to the Sanctus, heightened by 'all'. Most modern revisions spoil this by inserting 'and thanksgiving'. Consecration is by the *act* of thanksgiving, which is what the opening paragraph of the Canon is, not by saying the magical word. By addressing God with the titles used in the Preface, not only is another link provided, but the repetition is extended two words further.

<sup>33</sup>This emphasizes the uniqueness of Christ's Sacrifice without implying that it was offered only in the past on Calvary. It also avoids the suggestion that it was primarily propitiatory, and that he offered satisfaction *to God*. There are other legitimate theories of the atonement, and his Oblation is above all an act of worship, a Sacrifice of praise and thanksgiving which continues in heaven. This dual aspect is already distinguished in the next clause—death (atonement) and sacrifice (worship).

<sup>34</sup>Surely it is time we changed 'ye all'; most people think it means 'all of this'. 'Covenant' is a better translation.

joice.<sup>25</sup> And we render unto thee, O heavenly Father, most hearty thanks For the wonderful redemption procured for us in him.

*The Priest, standing, shall continue,*

WHEREFORE, O Lord, according to our Saviour Jesus Christ's holy institution, we thy humble servants, having in remembrance his blessed passion and precious death, his mighty resurrection and glorious ascension, and looking for his coming again with power and great glory, do make the Oblation thy Son hath commanded: we set forth before thy Divine Majesty this ☩ Bread of life and ☩ Cup of salvation.<sup>26</sup> And we earnestly desire thy fatherly goodness mercifully to receive upon thine Altar on high this, ☩ our sacrifice of praise and thanksgiving;<sup>27</sup> that we, and all thy whole Church, living and departed, may obtain all the benefits of his passion.

*The Priest and People together shall say,*

AND here we offer and present unto thee, O Lord, Ourselves, our souls and bodies, To be, in union with our Saviour Christ, The reasonable, holy, and living sacrifice unto thee.<sup>28</sup>

*And the Priest shall continue,*

AND we pray thee by thy Holy Spirit so to sanctify this Oblation of thy holy Church, that we may worthily receive the most precious Body and Blood of thy Son Jesus Christ, be filled with thy grace and heavenly benediction, and made one body with him, in the glorious fellowship of the saints he hath redeemed.<sup>29</sup> And although we are unworthy to offer unto thee any sacrifice, we beseech thee, who didst of old accept the offering of Abel, the faith of Abraham, and the oblations of Melchizedek.<sup>30</sup> to accept this our bounden duty and service, through Jesus

<sup>25</sup>This is addressed to Christ in the liturgies from which it is taken. But the Canon should be exclusively addressed to the Father, since in it we are sharing in Christ's perfect worship of him.

<sup>26</sup>By omitting the customary adjectives the phrases are purely biblical.

<sup>27</sup>Following Prayer Book policy, detailed ceremonial gestures have not been noted in the rubrics. But the crosses are important to identify 'this, our sacrifice' with the Elements. The notion that we are offering this sacrifice of *our* praise and thanksgiving must be avoided.

<sup>28</sup>Christ's is *the* one 'reasonable, holy and living sacrifice' in which alone we can offer ourselves acceptably to God. This belongs here: not at the Offertory before our oblation is consecrated; nor need it be postponed until after Communion, since one purpose of the Consecration is fully to actualize our baptismal incorporation in Christ, so that we can share in his worship of the Father, as well as receive him in the Elements. 'Living' is used here because 'lively sacrifice' suggests the wrong picture.

<sup>29</sup>Some will miss 'he may dwell in us' etc., but this idea is more effectively expressed moments later in Humble Access. Our present Canon ignores the corporate aspect of salvation which, in place of the duplication, has been stated here.

<sup>30</sup>The continuity of the Old Testament in the New needs emphasis today.

Christ our Lord, by whom, and with whom, and in whom, in the unity of the Holy Ghost, all honour and glory be unto thee, O Father Almighty, world without end.

*And all the People shall answer, Amen.*

### THE BREAKING OF BREAD

*Priest.* And now,<sup>41</sup> as our Saviour Christ hath commanded and taught us, we may boldly say,

*The Priest and People together shall say,*

OUR Father, who art in heaven, Hallowed be thy Name. Thy kingdom come, Thy will be done, On earth as it is in heaven. Give us this day our daily bread. And forgive us our trespasses, As we forgive those who trespass against us. And lead us not into temptation, But deliver us from evil. For thine is the kingdom, the power and the glory, For ever and ever. Amen.

*Then shall the Priest break the Bread, saying,<sup>42</sup>*

CHRIST our Paschal Lamb, once slain upon the cross, and now exalted to the right hand of the Father, ever liveth to make intercession for us.

*People.* Hosanna in the highest.

*Priest.* Blessed is he that cometh in the Name of the Lord.

*People.* Hosanna in the highest.

*Then the Priest shall kneel down, and silence shall be kept for a space; after which all who are minded to receive the Holy Communion shall say together,*

WE do not presume to come to this thy Table, O merciful Lord, Trusting in our own righteousness, But in thy manifold and great mercies. We are not worthy so much as to gather up the crumbs under thy Table. But thou art the same Lord, Whose property is always to have mercy: Grant us therefore, gracious Lord, So to receive thy most precious Body and Blood, That our souls and bodies may be cleansed and nourished, And that we may evermore dwell in thee, And thou in us. Amen.

*The Priest, standing and facing the Altar, shall say,*

O LORD Jesus Christ, who saidst unto thine Apostles, Peace I leave with you, my peace I give unto you; Regard not our sins, but the faith

<sup>41</sup>Instead of the less satisfactory traditional *oremus*, 'and now' marks the transition from the Canon.

<sup>42</sup>If the traditional ceremonies are desired, the first breaking is at 'Christ', the second at 'once slain', the crosses during the next clause, and the commixture at 'ever liveth'.

of thy Church; and grant to it that peace and unity which is according to thy will, who livest and reignest with the Father and the Holy Ghost, one God, world without end. *Amen.*

### THE HOLY COMMUNION

*Here may be sung a Hymn, or one of the following may be used.*

*V* We have known the Lord, Alleluia,

*R* In the breaking of Bread, Alleluia.

*V* The Bread which we break, Alleluia,

*R* Is the Body of Christ, Alleluia.

*V* In the Cup that we bless, Alleluia,

*R* We partake of his Blood, Alleluia.

*Or this,*

*V* O Lamb of God, that takest away the sins of the world,

*R* Have mercy upon us.

*V* O Lamb of God, that takest away the sins of the world,

*R* Have mercy upon us.

*V* O Lamb of God, that takest away the sins of the world,

*R* Grant us thy peace.

*During or after this Hymn, the Priest shall first receive the Holy Communion in both kinds himself, and proceed to deliver the same to the others in the Sanctuary. Then the People who are prepared to communicate<sup>48</sup> shall be invited to receive the Sacrament, the Priest saying,*

*YE who do truly and earnestly repent you of your sins, and are in love and charity with your neighbours, and intend to lead the new life: Draw near with faith, and take this holy Sacrament in remembrance that Christ gave his life for you, and feed on him in your hearts by faith with thanksgiving.*

*Then shall the Holy Communion be delivered to the People, all devoutly kneeling. And he that ministereth the Bread shall say,*

*The Body of our Lord Jesus Christ, given for thee." Amen.*

*He that ministereth the Cup shall say,*

*The Blood of our Lord Jesus Christ, shed for thee. Amen.*

<sup>48</sup>The key word is 'prepared'. This rubric asserts that opportunity for the people's Communion is regularly to be given, but recognizes that there may be occasions, such as nuptial masses, when the congregation does not come really prepared to receive. Under those circumstances they would not be invited.

<sup>49</sup>The omission of 'which was' is to avoid the suggestion that Christ's Sacrifice, now made sacramentally *present*, is exclusively in the past.

*During the Communion-time there may be sung a Hymn or Anthem.*

*When all have communicated, the Priest shall say the Proper Communion Sentence, according to the time; or it shall be sung. If no Proper Sentence be appointed, one of the following shall be used.*

If ye then be risen with Christ, seek those things which are above, where Christ sitteth at the right hand of God.

Jesus saith, Abide in me, and I in you. As the branch cannot bear fruit of itself, except it abide in the vine, no more can ye, except ye abide in me.

We have known and believed the love that God hath to us. God is love: and he that dwelleth in love dwelleth in God, and God in him.

Walk in love, as Christ also hath loved us, and hath given himself for us, an offering and a sacrifice to God.

Follow peace with all men, and holiness, without which no man shall see God.

The grace of God that bringeth salvation hath appeared to all men, teaching that, denying ungodliness and worldly lusts, we should live soberly, righteously, and godly in this present world.

Jesus saith, Whoso eateth my Flesh and drinketh my Blood hath eternal life, and I shall raise him up at the last day.

*While the private thanksgivings are being made, what remaineth of the consecrated Elements, except such as shall be properly reserved, shall be reverently consumed, and the vessels cleansed.<sup>45</sup>*

*Then shall the Priest say,*

The Lord be with you.

*People.* And with thy spirit

*Priest.* Let us bless the Lord.

*Then all shall stand, and the Priest shall say,*

ALMIGHTY and everliving God, we most heartily thank thee, for that thou dost vouchsafe to feed us in these holy Mysteries, with the spiritual food of the most precious Body and Blood of thy Son our Saviour Jesus Christ; assuring us thereby that we are very members incorporate in his Mystical Body, the blessed company of all faithful people, and are also heirs through hope of thy everlasting kingdom. And we humbly beseech thee, O heavenly Father, so to assist us with thy grace, that we may continue in that holy fellowship, and do all such good works as thou hast prepared for us to walk in; through the same

<sup>45</sup>The passive voice is used to allow the deacon to consume the Remains at a side altar, as some prefer.



Jesus Christ our Lord, to whom, with thee and the Holy Ghost, be all honour and glory, world without end.

*People.* Amen. Blessing and honour and glory and power be unto him that sitteth upon the Throne, And unto the Lamb for ever and ever. Amen.

*Then the Minister shall say,*

Go ye forth in Christ.<sup>46</sup>

*People.* Thanks be to God.

*Then, the People kneeling, the Priest (the Bishop if he be present) shall let them depart with this Blessing.*

THE Peace of God, which passeth all understanding, keep your hearts and minds in the knowledge and love of God, and of his Son Jesus Christ our Lord: And the Blessing of God Almighty, the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost, remain with you always.<sup>47</sup> Amen.

*It is the duty of every Communicant to receive the Holy Communion frequently, after due preparation; and to contribute regularly of his substance, as God shall prosper him, to the maintenance of the worship of God, and the spread of the Gospel.<sup>48</sup>*

*The Priest shall instruct the People, as occasion shall require, concerning the Communion of the Sick, that they may not be in ignorance that the Holy Communion can be received in their homes, if they be unable for any just cause to come to the church.*

*If any man, by reason of great sickness, or any other just impediment, be not able at any time to receive the Sacrament of Christ's Body and Blood, yet if he do truly repent him of his sins, and stedfastly believe that Jesus Christ hath suffered death upon the cross for him, and shed his blood for his redemption, giving most hearty thanks for the benefits he hath thereby, he doth indeed eat and drink the Body and Blood of our Saviour Christ profitably to his soul's health, although he do not receive the Sacrament with his mouth.*

<sup>46</sup>This both emphasizes that we go in Christ to the world, and avoids the repetition of 'peace'.

<sup>47</sup>The omission of 'be amongst you' avoids the sacerdotalism of giving a blessing after Communion. The priest simply bids that the peace and blessing therein received 'remain'.

<sup>48</sup>A statement of a communicant's duties ought to be included. The next two rubrics have been rescued from the Communion of the Sick (the first from 1928 English), and placed here in the hope they will be more often seen.

## PROPER INTROITS, PREFACES, AND COMMUNION SENTENCES<sup>49</sup>

### ADVENT

*From the First Sunday in Advent until Christmas Day, except upon major Saint's Days.*

*Introit.* Behold, the Lord God will come with a strong hand, and his arm shall rule for him: behold, his reward is with him, and his work before him.

*V* Prepare ye the way of the Lord.

*R* Make straight in the desert a highway for our God.

*V* Glory be. *R* As it was. *All.* Behold, the Lord, etc.

*Preface.* Because thou hast given unto us salvation through the coming of thy well-beloved Son in great humility, and by him wilt make all things new when he shall come again in his glorious majesty to judge the world in righteousness. Therefore with Angels, etc.<sup>50</sup>

*Sentence.* Blessed are those servants whom the Lord when he cometh shall find watching. Be ye therefore ready also: for the Son of Man cometh at an hour when ye think not.

### CHRISTMAS

*From Christmas Day until the Epiphany.*

*Introit.* Unto us a Child is born, unto us a Son is given: and the government shall be upon his shoulder: and his Name shall be called the Prince of Peace.

*V* O Lord our Governor, how excellent is thy Name in all the world.

*R* Thou that hast set thy glory above the heavens.

*V* Glory be. *R* As it was. *All.* Unto us a Child, etc.

*Preface.* As in the Prayer Book, page 77.

*Sentence.* God so loved the world, that he gave his only-begotten Son, to the end that all that believe in him should not perish, but have everlasting life.

<sup>49</sup>The Church already prints both a Prayer Book and an Altar Book. It is to be hoped that eventually it will realize that the Altar Book should be arranged for the convenience of the celebrant, and therefore not in the same way as is best for the people. A priest wants things where they come in the service as far as possible. Thus he will want all the Introits printed just before the liturgy; the Proper Prefaces (both with and without music) before the Canon; and the Proper Communion Sentences following those already given. For the people, however, long sections of alternatives are confusing and obscure the continuity of the liturgy. Therefore in the Prayer Book the Proper Introits, Prefaces and Sentences should be placed together after the liturgy. If Graduals are to be supplied, each set of lections should have its own, chosen to fit the context and printed with them.

<sup>50</sup>Scottish, slightly revised.

## EPIPHANY

*Upon the Epiphany, and seven days after.*

*Introit.* Arise, shine: for thy light is come, and the glory of the Lord is risen upon thee.

*V* All nations whom thou hast made shall come and worship thee, O Lord;

*R* And shall glorify thy Name.

*V* Glory be. *R* As it was. *All.* Arise, shine, etc.

*Preface.* As in the Prayer Book, page 77.

*Sentence.* All kings shall fall down before him; all nations shall do him service.

## THE INCARNATION

*Upon the Feasts of the Purification, Annunciation, and Transfiguration.<sup>a</sup>*

*Introit.* The Angel said unto Mary, The Holy Ghost shall come upon thee, and the power of the Highest shall overshadow thee; therefore also that holy thing which shall be born of thee shall be called the Son of God.

*V* Full of grace are thy lips;

*R* Because God hath blessed thee for ever.

*V* Glory be. *R* As it was. *All.* The Angel said, etc.

*But for the Feast of the Transfiguration the Introit shall be as for the Epiphany.*

*Preface.* As in the Prayer Book, page 77.

*Sentence.* When the fulness of time was come, God sent forth his Son, made of a woman, made under the law, to redeem them that were under the law, that we might receive the adoption of sons.

*But on the Feast of the Transfiguration the Sentence shall be,*

We beheld his glory, the glory as of the only-begotten of the Father, full of grace and truth.

## LENT

*From Ash Wednesday until Passion Sunday, except upon Major Feasts.*

*Introit.* Yet a little while is the light with you. Walk while ye have

<sup>a</sup>When Feasts of the Virgin Mary are provided, this Introit and Sentence will be used, but the Preface of Christmas, with 'for our salvation' substituted for 'as at this time for us'.

the light, lest darkness come upon you. Believe in the light, that ye may become the children of light.<sup>62</sup>

*V* Serve the Lord in fear:

*R* And rejoice unto him with reverence.

*V* Glory be. *R* As it was. *All.* Yet a little while, etc.

*Preface.* Who hast sent thy Son to be a great High Priest who is touched with the feeling of our infirmities, being at all points tempted like as we are, yet without sin; that we may come boldly unto the throne of grace, to obtain mercy, and to find grace to help in time of need. Therefore with Angels, etc.<sup>63</sup>

*One of the following Sentences shall be used,*

Jesus saith, If any man will come after me, let him deny himself, and take up his cross and follow me. For whosoever will save his life, shall lose it: and whosoever will lose his life for my sake, shall find it.

Work out your own salvation with fear and trembling: for it is God which worketh in you both to will and to do of his good pleasure.

We are debtors not to the flesh, to live after the flesh. For if ye live after the flesh, ye shall die: but if ye through the Spirit do mortify the deeds of the body, ye shall live.

This is a true saying, and worthy of all men to be received, That Christ Jesus came into the world to save sinners.

#### PASSIONTIDE

*From Passion Sunday until Maundy Thursday, except on Major Feasts.*

*Introit.* But God forbid that I should glory, save in the cross of our Lord Jesus Christ, by whom the world is crucified unto me, and I unto the world.

*V* Ascribe unto the Lord the honour due unto his Name.

*R* Worship the Lord with holy worship.

*Glory be is not said.* *All.* But God forbid, etc.

*Preface.* For the redemption of the world by the passion and death of our Saviour Christ, both God and Man; who humbled himself, even to the death upon the cross for us sinners that lay in darkness and the

<sup>62</sup>The warfare of light against darkness, as expounded by St. John, should be the theme of Lent. This is continued by repeating the phrase 'children of light' in the Passiontide Preface; and reaches its climax in the lighting of the Paschal Candle.

<sup>63</sup>Liturgical Commission's proposal.

shadow of death; that he might make us the children of light, and exalt us to everlasting glory. Therefore with Angels, etc.<sup>64</sup>

*Sentence.* Jesus said, I am the good Shepherd: the good shepherd giveth his life for the sheep.

#### MAUNDY THURSDAY

*Upon Maundy Thursday, and at Commemorations of the Holy Eucharist.*

*Introit.* Jesus said unto them, I am the Bread of life: he that cometh to me shall never hunger; and he that believeth on me shall never thirst.

*V* He gave them food from heaven.

*R* So man did eat Angels' food.

*V* Glory be. *R* As it was. *All.* Jesus said unto them, etc.

*Preface.* Through Jesus Christ our Lord: who having loved his own that were in the world, loved them unto the end; and on the night before he suffered, sitting at meat with his disciples, did institute these holy Mysteries; that we, commemorating his precious death and sacrifice, may be partakers of his heavenly glory. Therefore with Angels, etc.<sup>65</sup>

*Sentence.* Jesus said. I am the living Bread which came down from heaven: if any man eat of this Bread, he shall live for ever: and the Bread that I will give is my Flesh, which I will give for the life of the world.

#### EASTER

*From Easter Day until Ascension Day, except upon Major Feasts.*

*Introit.* This Jesus hath God raised up, alleluia; whereof we all are witnesses, alleluia, alleluia, alleluia.

*V* O give thanks unto the Lord, for he is gracious, alleluia:

*R* And his mercy endureth for ever, alleluia.

*V* Glory be. *R* As it was. *All.* This Jesus, etc.

*Preface.* As in the Prayer Book, page 78.

*One of the following Sentences shall be used.*

If we have been planted together in the likeness of his death, we shall be also in the likeness of his resurrection.

I am the Resurrection and the Life, saith the Lord: he that be-

<sup>64</sup>Canadian, revised. It is taken from the first Exhortation.

<sup>65</sup>This appeared first in Gore's Prayer Book (1913) and has been adopted in revised form by many modern books. This is a further revision.

lieveth in me, though he were dead, yet shall he live: and whosoever liveth and believeth in me shall never die.

Now is Christ risen from the dead, and become the firstfruits of them that slept. For since by man came death, by man came also the resurrection of the dead. For as in Adam all die, even so in Christ shall all be made alive.

#### ASCENSION

*From Ascension Day until Whitsunday, except on Major Feasts.*  
*Introit.* In like manner as ye have seen him go into heaven, alleluia; so shall he come again, alleluia, alleluia, alleluia.

*V* God is gone up with a merry noise, alleluia:

*R* And the Lord with the sound of the trump, alleluia.

*V* Glory be. *R* As it was. *All.* In like manner, etc.

*Preface.* As in the Prayer Book, page 78.

*Sentence.* Christ is not entered into the holy places made with hands, which are the figures of the true, but into heaven itself, now to appear in the presence of God for us.

#### WHITSUNTIDE

*Upon Whitsunday, and six days after.*

*Introit.* Ye have received the Spirit of adoption, alleluia; whereby we cry, Abba, Father, alleluia, alleluia, alleluia.

*V* The voice of the Lord is mighty in operation, alleluia.

*R* The voice of the Lord is a glorious voice, alleluia.

*V* Glory be. *R* As it was. *All.* Ye have received, etc.

*Preface.* As in the Prayer Book, page 78.

*Sentence.* The fruit of the Spirit is love, joy, peace, longsuffering, gentleness, meekness, faith. If we live by the Spirit, let us also walk in the Spirit.

#### TRINITY SUNDAY

*Upon the Feast of the Holy Trinity only.*

*Introit.* The second of the General Introits.

*Preface.* As in the Prayer Book, page 79.

*Sentence.* Alleluia: for the Lord God Omnipotent reigneth. Let us be glad and rejoice, and give honour to him.

## OTHER SUNDAYS

*On Sundays not otherwise provided for, one of the following Prefaces shall be used.<sup>50</sup>*

BUT chiefly are we bound to praise thee for the glorious resurrection of thy Son Jesus Christ our Lord: who by his death hath destroyed death, and by his rising to life again hath restored to us everlasting life. Therefore with Angels, etc.

Through Jesus Christ our Lord; who, after he had ascended far above all the heavens and was set down at thy right hand, bestowed upon the Universal Church thy Holy and Life-giving Spirit; that through his glorious power the joy of the everlasting Gospel might go forth into all the world. Therefore with Angels, etc.

Who, with thine only-begotten Son, and the Holy Ghost, art one God, one Lord, in Trinity of Persons and in Unity of Substance; who hast created all things by thine eternal Word. Therefore with Angels, etc.

Who on the first day of the week didst speak the Word, and there was light; and from the darkness of sin and death, didst raise up again thine everlasting Word to be the Light of men, even Jesus Christ our Lord. Therefore with Angels, etc.

*One of the General Introits and Communion Sentences shall be used.*

## ALL SAINTS

*Upon All Saints' Day, and seven days after; and upon a major Saint's Day not otherwise provided for.*

*Introit.* Blessed are the people whose God is the Lord Jehovah; and blessed are the folk that he hath chosen to him, to be his inheritance.  
*V* Rejoice in the Lord O ye righteous;

*R* For it becometh well the just to be thankful.

*V* Glory be. *R* As it was. *All.* Blessed are the people, etc.

*Preface.* As in the Prayer Book, page 79.

*Sentence.* The Spirit itself beareth witness with our spirit, that we are the children of God: and if children, then heirs; heirs of God, and joint-heirs with Christ, if so be that we suffer with him, that we may be also glorified together.

<sup>50</sup>There are too many free Sundays to use on Preface on all of them, so four are given. The first was suggested in 1796 by Abernethy-Drummond. The second appears in many modern books as a substitute for the 1549 Whitsun Preface. (It incorporates the Sarum Preface.) But the American abridement of 1549 seems more appropriate to the Feast, while this Preface, considerably revised, will be useful on Sundays. The third is the South African form of the Trinity Preface for use on Sundays, slightly revised. The fourth is original.



*But for a major Saint one of the Sentences for Other Saints is to be used.*

#### APOSTLES

*Upon the Feasts of Apostles or Evangelists not falling within an appointed Octave.*

*Introit.* They continued stedfastly in the Apostles' doctrine and fellowship, and in breaking of bread, and in prayers.

*V* Their sound is gone out into all lands;

*R* And their words into the ends of the world.

*V* Glory be. *R* As it was. *All.* They continued, etc.

*Preface.* Through Jesus Christ our Lord; who into all the world sent forth Apostles and Evangelists, to proclaim his Gospel and to plant his Church: that all mankind might know and worship thee, and Jesus Christ whom thou hast sent. Therefore with Angels, etc.<sup>87</sup>

*Sentence.* Now therefore ye are no more strangers and foreigners, but fellowcitizens with the saints, and of the household of God; and are built upon the foundation of the Apostles and Prophets, Jesus Christ himself being the chief Cornerstone.

#### OTHER SAINTS

*On other Saint's Days one of the following, or the Introit for All Saints, shall be used.*

1. These are they which came out of great tribulation, and have washed their robes, and made them white in the blood of the Lamb.

*V* The Lord preserveth the souls of his saints.

*R* He shall deliver them from the hand of the ungodly.

*V* Glory be. *R* As it was. *All.* These are they, etc.

2. Blessed is the man that endureth temptation: for when he is tried, he shall receive the crown of life, which the Lord hath promised to them that love him.

*V* O praise the Lord, all ye his hosts;

*R* Ye servants of his that do his pleasure.

*V* Glory be. *R* As it was. *All.* Blessed is the man, etc.

*If the day falleth not within a Season for which a Proper Preface is appointed, the following may be used,*

Who in the righteousness of the saints hast given us an example of

<sup>87</sup>An original composition.

godly living, and in their blessedness a glorious hope of our calling. Therefore with Angels, etc.<sup>68</sup>

*One of the following Sentences shall be used.*

Ye also, as lively stones, are built up a spiritual house, an holy priesthood, to offer up spiritual sacrifices, acceptable to God by Christ Jesus.

He that endureth to the end shall be saved.

The Lord's delight is in them that fear him, and put their trust in his mercy.

#### DEPARTED

*At Celebrations for the Departed.*

*Introit.* Rest eternal grant unto them, O Lord: and let light perpetual shine upon them.

*V* Thou, O God, art praised in Sion, and unto thee shall the vow be performed in Jerusalem.

*R* Thou that hearest the prayer, unto thee shall all flesh come.

*Glory be is not said. All.* Rest eternal, etc.

*In place of the Bidding to the Offertory shall be said,*

Seeing that we have a great High Priest, that is passed into the heavens, Jesus the Son of God, let us come boldly unto the throne of grace, that we may obtain mercy, and find grace to help in time of need.

*Preface.* Through Jesus Christ our Lord; in whom, dying to sin, we are raised to newness of life; and can walk even through the valley of the shadow of death in the sure hope of the glory that shall be revealed. Therefore with Angels, etc.<sup>69</sup>

*The first two Responses to O Lamb of God shall be.* Grant them rest; and the third, Grant them rest everlasting.

*The Communion Sentence and the remainder of the Liturgy shall be as follows, the People kneeling throughout.*

*Sentence.* None of us liveth unto himself, and no man dieth unto himself; For whether we live, we live unto the Lord; and whether we die, we die unto the Lord: whether we live therefore, or die, we are the Lord's.

<sup>68</sup>This is prefixed to the All Saints Preface in several books, but it makes that too long and complicated. It is a good Preface by itself.

<sup>69</sup>The Roman Preface does not translate well. This is an original attempt at a new approach.

*When the vessels have been cleansed, the Priest shall say,*

The Lord be with you.

*People.* And with thy spirit.

*Priest.* Let us pray.

O ETERNAL Lord God, who holdest all souls in life; Vouchsafe, we beseech thee, to thy whole Church in paradise and on earth, thy light and thy peace; and grant that we, following the good examples of those who have served thee here and are now at rest, may at the last enter with them into thine unending joy, through Jesus Christ our Lord, to whom, with thee and the Holy Ghost, be all honour and glory, world without end. *Amen.*

*Priest.* Rest eternal grant unto them, O Lord.

*People.* And let light perpetual shine upon them.

*Priest.* May they rest in peace.

*The Blessing is not added.*

#### SUPPLEMENTARY CONSECRATION<sup>oo</sup>

*If the consecrated Bread or Wine be spent before all have communicated, the Priest is to consecrate more, according to the following form.*

HEAR us, Almighty Father, and vouchsafe to bless and sanctify, with thy Word and Holy Spirit, this bread (wine), that it may also be unto us the Body (Blood) of our Lord Jesus Christ.

*At the Consecration of the bread,*

Who, in the night in which he was betrayed, took bread, and when he had given thanks to thee, he brake it, and gave it to his disciples, saying, Take, eat, this is my Body, which is given for you. Do this in remembrance of me. *Amen.*

*At the Consecration of the wine,*

Who, after supper, took the cup, and when he had given thanks to thee, he gave it to his disciples, saying, Drink all ye of this; for this is my Blood of the New Covenant, which is shed for you and for many, for

<sup>oo</sup>Provision must be made for the contingency that one of the Elements be exhausted before all have received. This liturgy considers the Eucharist to be a single continuous act. The only way to have *another* Consecration is to celebrate it all over again. No matter how long or short the form may be, there is something basically magical in the concept that by repeating a portion of the liturgy Christ can be made present in the elements. But while the Eucharist is still in process, it is possible to indicate additional elements to be included in *its* act of Consecration. In order solemnly to do that this form is supplied. Since it is not another Consecration, there is no need for both kinds to be included, if only more of one is required. The key words of this form are 'may also be'.

the remission of sins. Do this, as oft as ye shall drink it, in remembrance of me. *Amen.*

*If both Bread and Wine are needed, the last two paragraphs are to be included, the second beginning, Likewise, after supper, he took the cup, with Amen said only at the close.*

### AN EXHORTATION AT THE EUCHARIST<sup>21</sup>

*This Exhortation may be read by the Minister at the beginning of the Liturgy, in place of all that precedeth the General Confession.*

DEARLY beloved in the Lord, we are gathered here before this holy Altar to give most humble and hearty thanks to God, the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost, for the redemption of the world by the passion and death of our Saviour Christ, both God and Man: who took upon him our flesh, and humbled himself even to the death upon the cross for us miserable sinners who lay in darkness and the shadow of death; that he might make us the children of God, and exalt us to everlasting life.

And to the end that we should always remember the exceeding great love of our Master and only Saviour Jesus Christ, thus dying for us, and the innumerable benefits which by his precious blood-shedding he hath obtained for us, he hath instituted and ordained holy Mysteries, as pledges of his love, for a continual remembrance of his death, and for a spiritual partaking of his life, that he may be one with us and we with him, to our great and endless comfort. In him therefore, let us offer, as we are most bounden, this sacrifice of thanksgiving unto the Father, submitting ourselves wholly to his holy will and pleasure, and studying to serve him in righteousness all the days of our life.

But we who come to the Holy Communion of the Body and Blood of our Saviour Christ must also consider how Saint Paul exhorteth all persons diligently to examine themselves, before they presume to eat of that Bread and drink of that Cup. For as the benefit is great, if with a truly penitent heart and living faith we receive that holy Sacrament; so is the danger great, if we receive the same unworthily.

Judge therefore yourselves, brethren, that ye be not judged of the Lord. Repent you of your sins past, and confess yourselves to Al-

<sup>21</sup>As this Exhortation has been arranged as a substitute for part of the liturgy, it might sometimes be considered useful. It has been revised so as to start at the altar and lead up to the Confession. Much of the last paragraph has been taken from the other Exhortation to give a stronger ending here.

mighty God, with full purpose of amendment of life: so that ye may come holy and clean to such a heavenly feast, in the marriage garment required by God in Holy Scripture, and be received as worthy partakers of that holy Table.

Let us humbly confess our sins unto Almighty God.

[All the remainder should be placed among the occasional services at the back of the Prayer Book.]

### AN EXHORTATION TO THE HOLY COMMUNION<sup>22</sup>

*This Exhortation may be read as an introduction to the Office of Preparation for the Holy Communion, or by itself in giving notice of the Celebration of the Eucharist, especially before the great Festivals. The paragraph in brackets may be omitted.*

DEARLY beloved brethren, on—day next I purpose, through God's assistance, to administer to all such as shall be religiously and devoutly disposed the life-giving Sacrament of the Body and Blood of Christ; to be by them received in remembrance of his saving cross and passion by which alone we obtain remission of our sins and are made partakers of the kingdom of heaven.

Wherefore it is our duty to come to these holy Mysteries with most humble and hearty thanks to Almighty God, our heavenly Father, for that he hath given his Son our Saviour Jesus Christ. not only to die for us, but also to be our spiritual food and sustenance in that holy Sacrament.

[Therefore, in God's behalf, I bid you all that are here present, who are so lovingly called and bidden by God himself, and I exhort you, as ye love your own salvation, that ye will be partakers of that Holy Communion. It is an easy matter for a man to say, I will not communicate because I am otherwise hindered with worldly business. But such excuses are not so easily accepted and allowed before God. Those who refused the feast in the Gospel, because they had bought a farm, or would try their yokes of oxen, or because they were married, were not so excused, but counted unworthy of the heavenly feast. And if any man say, I am a grievous sinner and therefore am afraid to come: wherefore then do ye not repent and amend? I beseech you therefore, for the Lord Jesus Christ's sake, that ye will not refuse to come to that

<sup>22</sup>This Exhortation might well be used occasionally. The paragraph in brackets may rarely be needed, but it is wise to have it to read at Confirmation instructions.

holy Sacrament in which we spiritually eat the Flesh of Christ and drink his Blood.]

But since this is so divine and life-giving a thing to those who receive it worthily, and so dangerous to those who will presume to receive it unworthily, my duty is to exhort you in the meantime to search and examine your own consciences, and that not lightly, in order that, whereinsoever ye shall perceive yourselves to have offended either by will, word, deed, or omission, ye may repent you truly of your sins, and confess them before God with a stedfast faith in Christ our Saviour, and with an earnest mind to offend no more.

And if ye shall perceive your offences to be such as are not only against God, but also against your neighbour, then ye shall reconcile yourselves unto him; being ready to make restitution and satisfaction, to the uttermost of your powers, for all injuries and wrongs done by you to any other; and being likewise ready to forgive others that have offended you, as ye would have forgiveness of your offences at God's hand.

And because it is requisite that no man should come to the Holy Communion, but with a full trust in God's mercy and with a quiet conscience, if there be any of you who by this means cannot quiet his own conscience herein, but requireth further comfort or counsel, let him come to a Priest and confess and open his sin and grief secretly;<sup>87</sup> that he may receive the assurance of God's Absolution, together with such godly counsel and advice, as may avail to the quieting of his conscience, and the removing of all scruple and doubtfulness.

*There shall none be admitted to the Holy Communion, until such time as he be confirmed, or be ready and desirous to be confirmed.<sup>88</sup>*

*If among those who come to be partakers of the Holy Communion, the Parish Priest shall know any to be an open and notorious evil liver, or to have done any wrong to his neighbour by word or deed, so that the Congregation be thereby offended: he shall admonish him, that he presume not to come to the Lord's Table, until he have openly declared himself to have truly repented and amended his former evil life, that the Congregation may thereby be satisfied; and until he have recom-*

<sup>87</sup>This clearer reference to Confession ought to be possible today. 'Come to a Priest' both simplifies the passage and makes it possible for a layman to read it.

<sup>88</sup>The disciplinary rubrics go most logically with the exhortation to and preparation for Communion. The requirement of Confirmation should be printed here as well as at the end of that Office. In the next rubric a grammatical error has been corrected and the meaning clarified.

*pensed the parties to whom he hath done wrong, or at least declared himself to be in full purpose so to do, as soon as he conveniently may.*

*The same order shall the Priest use, etc., as in the Prayer Book, page 85, except Minister is changed to Priest throughout.*

### AN OFFICE OF PREPARATION FOR THE HOLY COMMUNION<sup>67</sup>

*The following Office may be used as a corporate preparation at some convenient time before the Celebration of the Eucharist. It may be introduced by the preceding Exhortation, an Address, or a Meditation. Suitable Hymns may be included.*

*The Office may be conducted by a layman. It may also be used as the basis of a private preparation for the reception of the Sacrament.*

*All standing, the Minister shall say,*

IN the Name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost.

*People. Amen.*

*Minister. I will go unto the altar of God;*

*People. Even unto the God of my joy and gladness.*

Psalm 43 (printed out).

*Minister. I will go unto the altar of God;*

*People. Even unto the God of my joy and gladness.*

*Minister. Our help is in the Name of the Lord;*

*People. Who hath made heaven and earth.*

*The above may be recited by the Celebrant and his assistants<sup>68</sup> in the Sacristy before the Celebration of the Liturgy (followed by a suitable Collect), or at the foot of the Altar during the singing of the Introit.*

*The Minister, turning to the People, shall say,*

THAT we may approach the Altar with true and penitent hearts, let us examine our lives and conduct by the rule of God's Commandments in the Old Law and the New, not only according to the letter, but also according to the spiritual import thereof, devoutly kneeling.

*All shall kneel. Silence should be kept for a brief space after each*

<sup>67</sup>The Office of Preparation will not be used often in ordinary parish life, but that is no reason for discarding this excellent suggestion of the Liturgical Commission. It will be desired occasionally for conferences, camps, corporate Communion and the like; and it serves as a useful guide to private preparation. It is also needed as a repository for items which now clutter up the liturgy, but which should not be lost entirely.

<sup>68</sup>There is much to be said for using this with the choir, but out of earshot of the congregation.



*Response, that a self-examination on the preceding Commandment may be made.*

The Commandments as in the Prayer Book, page 68, with the portions in small print deleted. The Response to the Tenth Commandment shall be as for the preceding nine. It shall be followed by the Summary as on page 69, with the present tenth Response after it.

*After a longer pause, the Minister shall say,*

Let us humbly confess our sins unto Almighty God.

*And the People shall join with the Minister in saying the General Confession of the Liturgy.*

*The Minister, standing and facing the People, may say,—the Comfortable Words, as in the Prayer Book, page 76.<sup>67</sup>*

*If a Priest be present, he shall give the Absolution as in the Liturgy.*

*Then the Minister, kneeling down, shall continue,*

Wilt thou not turn again, O Lord, and save us?

*People.* That thy people may rejoice in thee.

*Minister.* O Lord, hear our prayer.

*People.* And let our cry come unto thee.

*The Minister and People shall say together, Our Father, etc.*

*Then shall the Minister say,*

O GOD, who in a wonderful Sacrament hast left unto us a memorial of thy passion: Grant us grace so to celebrate<sup>68</sup> these sacred Mysteries of thy Body and Blood, that we may ever perceive within ourselves the fruits of thy redemption; who livest and reignest with the Father, in the unity of the Holy Spirit, one God, world without end. *Amen.*

*Other suitable Collects and Prayers for special intentions may be added, and the Office concluded with the Grace.*

<sup>67</sup>These serve in lieu of an absolution when no priest is present.

<sup>68</sup>This change from the traditional form makes this Collect more suitable in this context.

## GETTING THE OLD TESTAMENT INTO THE LITURGY

By FRANCIS LIGHTBOURN\*

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That the Eucharistic Liturgy ought to contain, as normal features, both Psalmody and an Old Testament lesson is a conviction that has been voiced by many in recent years.<sup>1</sup> The usual underlying, if unexpressed, assumption seems to be that this is a need which can be met only by prefixing to the service of the Holy Communion some form of shortened Morning Prayer (which it is feared will not be quite short enough) or by official revision of the Liturgy (and we all know how long that takes). But are these in fact the only two alternatives? It seems to the present writer that not a little might be done in this direction within the framework of the rite as we now have it, and without violation of any existing rubric.

First of all, as regards Psalmody. Surely we do not have to wait for further revision to introduce Psalmody at any point in the service where it is now customary to sing a metrical hymn. But I would suggest that the ideal place for this is between the Epistle and Gospel; and I make this suggestion on both historic and practical grounds. It was between the scriptural lections that Psalmody was the norm in primitive times.<sup>2</sup> On the practical side, too, it is here that a vacuum exists in so many parishes. This is at least true in many, if not in most, parishes in America, where nothing whatever is sung between the Epistle and Gospel, despite the clear provision of the American Prayer Book that "a Hymn or an Anthem" may be sung at this point. The introduction of a Psalm between Epistle and Gospel, as a Gradual, would in many congregations be merely an addition, in no way depriving the people of a metrical hymn to which they are already accustomed.

In a parish where the choir and people are not equal to singing a

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<sup>1</sup>See, for example, "Hesitations about the Parish Communion," by the Rev. Ronald Preston (*Theology*, September 1960).

<sup>2</sup>Dom Gregory Dix. *The Shape of the Liturgy*, pp. 39f.

psalm, is there any reason why this gradual psalm could not simply be read, either by the celebrant alone or (better still) by celebrant and people? Better yet, in places where the Epistle is read by an assistant minister or by a layman, the same person would be the logical one to lead the people in the gradual psalm.

As to an Old Testament lesson, there is nothing to prevent the preacher from using an Old Testament passage as the basis for his sermon and from reading it in its entirety just before his sermon or after an introductory sentence or two. In this way the stage would be set for exposition of the Old Testament. In this procedure one would have absolute freedom of choice, though he would be wise to choose a passage linked with the Epistle or Gospel and of comparable length.

One would hardly want to preach on an Old Testament theme every Sunday of the year; hence there is a practical limitation to this procedure. But surely on ten to fifteen Sundays out of every fifty-two one might expound an Old Testament section, reading it from the pulpit immediately before. This would get the Old Testament read—and expounded—more frequently and at greater length than is now the case at Eucharistic worship. This in itself would be no small gain. And perhaps it is all that should be attempted for a time. Certainly it would prepare the way for the regular Sunday by Sunday introduction of an Old Testament lesson into the Liturgy.

In the American Church it is now possible to have this regular Sunday by Sunday reading of the Old Testament in close connection with the Eucharist by prefacing the latter with a rubrical form of shortened Morning Prayer consisting of the following elements:

1. Opening sentence(s) and versicles
2. Venite
3. One Psalm .
4. Old Testament Lesson
5. Canticle (*Te Deum*, *Benedictus*, or other), also serving as Introit to Eucharist

In connection with this thoroughly rubrical scheme the American Church also provides for the Sundays of the Church Year a series of starred (\*) Old Testament lessons (with matching Proper Psalms) as especially appropriate when Morning Prayer with one Lesson immediately precedes the Holy Communion. In this way due regard is paid

to the Old Testament, which is thus neatly integrated into the liturgical theme of the Sunday.

This form of Sunday worship is in use in congregations here and there, its most celebrated representative being the Cathedral of St. John the Divine, New York City. It is still, however, a definitely minority usage, and I know of no place where it has become a "tradition" of such long standing that discontinuance would upset the people. Elsewhere it has been tried and for one reason or another given up. It would satisfy the present writer, at least until such time as the Church officially adopted some other arrangement.<sup>9</sup>

In parts of the Anglican Communion where Morning Prayer shortened to this extent is not rubrically permissible,<sup>4</sup> it would seem none the less that an Old Testament lesson with a Psalm and perhaps one of the Canticles, might be introduced just before the Liturgy—on the general principle that anything in the words of Holy Scripture may surely be *added* to the service, if not interpolated into it. If a hymn not in the words of Scripture may be used at this point, surely something consisting entirely of scriptural selections can hardly be ruled out. This would not take the place of Morning Prayer, but it would give the needed enrichment to the Eucharistic Office. Again, the selection would be entirely at the discretion of the incumbent. Since, however, the American starred (\*) lessons from the Old Testament and their accompanying selections from the Psalter are definitely geared to the Eucharistic Propers, they would in most cases fit any other Anglican liturgy just as well.

If the principle of some such arrangement be accepted, one might in practice get various possible combinations. Here I give three:

#### A

##### 1. Hymn (or Venite or Jubilate)

<sup>9</sup>A possible objection from the point of view of the clergy might be that such a form of Morning Prayer hardly satisfies the reading of the Divine Office. To this I would reply: (1) that, since the Sunday course of psalms and lessons is in any case different from that of the weekdays, the latter is in no way interrupted; (2) that the Sunday psalm(s), Old Testament lesson, Epistle, and Gospel, together with the other prayers, etc., of the Sunday Eucharist, are more than equivalent to weekday Morning Prayer.

In my own case, when I use such a shortened form of Morning Prayer just before the Sunday Eucharist, I generally add to my (private) reading of Evening Prayer the omitted Morning Prayer Lesson and its Canticle. This sometimes results in the rather happy Evening Prayer sequence: First Lesson (O.T.)—Benedictus; Second Lesson (N.T., Epistle or other)—Magnificat; Third Lesson (N.T., Gospel)—Nunc Dimittis, all three Gospel Canticles thus in proper succession.

<sup>4</sup>The 1928 English Book requires two Lessons and two Canticles to be read even when Morning Prayer immediately precedes the Holy Communion.

2. Psalm (said or sung)
3. Old Testament lesson (ideally read by a layman in street clothes at the lectern)
4. Benedictus (or other Cantic), serving also as Introit to Eucharist)

## B

1. Hymn (or Venite or Jubilate)
2. Old Testament lesson (ideally read as above)
3. Psalm (serving as Introit to Eucharist, with Benedictus as Gradual)

## C

1. Hymn
2. Old Testament lesson
3. Benedictus (serving as Introit to Eucharist, with Psalm as Gradual)

Such arrangements as these would admit of varied degrees of ceremonial and of musical elaboration. Psalms and Canticles might be sung or said. If said, they too might appropriately be led by a layman, whether vested or in street clothes. In places where incense is used, the altar would be censed, presumably during the Benedictus or Introit Psalm.

In future Prayer Book revision, at what point in the Eucharistic Liturgy might a reading from the Old Testament be introduced? One possibility would be immediately after the Collect for the Day. In this case a Psalm (said or sung) would follow the Old Testament lesson read ideally by a layman from the lectern, who might also lead the Psalm if merely read. Then would come the Epistle (or other non-evangelical New Testament selection), which might be followed by a Cantic and/or a metrical hymn, forming a bridge to the Gospel.

The other possibility that occurs to the present writer would be to use an Old Testament lesson in place of the Commandments, which are themselves an Old Testament lesson of a sort, but which are seldom used any more. In this case, the *Venite* might be used as an Introit (before the Collect for Purity) and *Benedictus* or a Psalm as the Gradual. The Old Testament lesson, read right after the Collect for Purity, would then be followed immediately by the Summary of the Law and/or the Kyries.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>5</sup>In some respects the Summary of the Law ("... on these two commandments hang all the law and the prophets") would come in well at this point. It is, how-

It is possible that some venturesome bishop might be willing to authorize either of the two alternatives just mentioned, pending Prayer Book revision. Revision itself, however, might ultimately take the form of the introduction immediately after the Collect for Purity of what would be in effect a shortened form of Morning Prayer. Thus, after the opening Collect (said perhaps in the middle of the lowest step of the altar), celebrant and attendants would move to the sedilia for Venite, Psalm (s), Old Testament lesson (read perhaps by a layman), and during Benedictus ascend the altar for the Kyries, etc.<sup>9</sup>

These are some of the possible combinations that suggest themselves to the present writer. But it is not necessary to await formal revision of the Prayer Book before making any move whatsoever toward the restoration of the Old Testament to the Liturgy. Not a little is possible under existing rubrics. At least a Psalm or Canticle can be sung as a Gradual. (Venite and Benedictus might alternate in the summer, when there is no choir, with a "proper" Gradual Psalm the rest of the year.) And any clergyman can surely read, in connection with his sermon and expound ten to fifteen Old Testament passages in the course of every twelve months.

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ever, a somewhat tiresome appendage to the swift movement of the Liturgy and might therefore be omitted in future revision—especially if we contemplate adding an Old Testament lesson.

<sup>9</sup>Another suggestion for getting some of the Old Testament into the Liturgy, mentioned somewhat facetiously by an informed layman, is perhaps worthy of more serious consideration than was intended. This would introduce the reading of substantial portions of Holy Scripture during the Communion of the people. Certainly there is nothing under the existing rubrics to prevent anybody's trying this, and it might be thought far preferable to the (meaningless) playing of the organ that now so frequently takes place during this period.

## SOME REFLECTIONS ON THEOLOGY IN JAPAN

By JOSEPH M. KITAGAWA\*

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The centenary celebration of Nippon Seikokai (the Anglican Church in Japan) in April, 1959, and the similar celebration of Protestant Christianity in November, 1959, provided occasions for many Western Christian leaders to visit Japan. Some of them, in reading miscellaneous, were happily surprised to find a wide variety of books and articles written in Western languages on art, history, culture, economics, and politics, as well as on the religions in Japan, especially Buddhism. (It was reported two years ago that over ten thousand copies of a small book on Zen Buddhism were sold in America within a few weeks.) Ironically, however, they found that reliable Western books on Christianity in Japan were very scarce. This lamentable situation has been rectified a little by two recent publications.<sup>1</sup>

Dr. Charles W. Iglehart, a veteran missionary in Japan since 1909, has written a lucid survey of the historical development of Protestant Christianity for the non-professional reader. Dr. Iglehart is aware of the social, economic, and political uncertainty in contemporary Japan; and he points out the difficulties confronting Christianity as it tries to find a way to give its testimony to the Gospel. But he is optimistic about the future of Christianity in the island kingdom. He proudly quotes the former Prime Minister Nobusuke Kishi's statement: "Japan is not a Christian nation. . . . But Japanese Christians—humble followers as well as outstanding leaders—have made signal contributions to the social progress and spiritual uplift of the nation through their exemplary conduct, their piety, and their spirit of service and helpfulness."<sup>2</sup>

Essentially, Iglehart is an evangelist of the pietistic, Biblicist tradition, though his understanding of evangelism embraces all aspects of

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<sup>1</sup>Iglehart, Charles W., *A Century of Protestant Christianity in Japan*; and Michelson, Carl, *Japanese Contributions to Christian Theology*.

<sup>2</sup>Iglehart, *op. cit.*, p. 331.



social and educational activities of the church. Before the war, Iglehart was a professor at Aoyama Gaukin College and Education Secretary for the National Council of Japan, and after the war he served as Advisor to the Allied Occupation on educational and religious matters. But to him, basically, the strength of Protestant Christianity lies in the thousands of little local church fellowships:

The faithful pastor day in and day out gives nurture to this small flock. The few families carry their weight of responsibilities in the community and stand as models of gracious and loyal living. . . . These are the tiny roots of personal and social redemption that have silently sunk into Japanese soil, never to be uprooted.<sup>3</sup>

While Protestantism has not yet won Japan as a nation, "one day in the future its task will be the open, bold challenge to discipleship for the whole nation."<sup>4</sup>

Yet Iglehart's rhapsodic view of Christianity in Japan is tempered from time to time by a more sober, realistic appraisal of its weaknesses and short-comings. While he praises Japanese Christians as self-reliant, fully conscious of themselves as being Japanese, he also recognizes that the assimilation of Christianity into Japanese life has a long way to go. He characterizes Protestantism in Japan as an urban, middle class intellectual's religion. "Cosmopolitan, international, enlightened, ethical and rational, it commands itself to the movable class in the cities. . . . Neither the people of the villages nor the workers in the cities have been deeply reached, much less won."<sup>5</sup> Iglehart admits, in theory at least, that Christian thinking must widen its base, "from that of the traditional historic formulations of the West to include insights offered by Japan's own greatest truth-seekers and spiritual geniuses of the past,"<sup>6</sup> but he seems to think that such a course will take many more decades, if not centuries.

Parenthetically, American Episcopalians who look through this book for references to the actual situation of Seikokai will find little satisfaction in the author's perfunctory characterization of it as an autonomous province of the Anglican Communion with all its ten dioceses administered by Japanese bishops; but he adds: "Its care for beautiful

<sup>3</sup>*Ibid.*, p. 348.

<sup>4</sup>*Ibid.*, p. 349.

<sup>5</sup>*Ibid.*, p. 346.

<sup>6</sup>*Ibid.*, p. 347.

and orderly worship and its many works of benevolence are an adornment to Japanese Protestantism."<sup>7</sup>

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In sharp contrast to the purely descriptive, historical survey of Iglehart's book, Michalson's book is analytical and theological. Dr. Michalson, Professor of Systematic Theology at Drew University, spent five months in 1958 as a visiting lecturer in theology at Aoyama Gakuin and Union Theological Seminary, Tokyo. He tells us that it was his attempt to learn how much his students knew about theology that led him to pursue disciplined research into the leading sources of contemporary theology in Japan. Michalson defends his method of depending upon bilingual friends and students in his study of Japanese theological works on the ground that technical competence in languages "must occasionally take a back seat to academic fair play." After all, he says, "Ruth Benedict wrote her anthropological study of the Japanese people, *The Chrysanthemum and the Sword*, not only without a knowledge of Japanese but without ever setting foot in Japan."<sup>8</sup> This argument is highly debatable. As far as we are concerned, the main question is how perceptive the author is in grasping the structure and genius of Japanese theological works. In Michalson's case readers will find a very successful result. As a consequence of his reliance upon the translation of others, however, inevitably the author was led to treat Japanese Protestant theological works as though they can be detached from their Japanese historical and cultural context. There are scattered references to cultural factors in the last chapter, "The Maturity of Japanese Theology," which shows that Michalson is not unaware of this problem. One only wishes that he could have given some sort of general introduction before exposing his readers to rather technical discussions of theological works of Japanese scholars.

It is significant that Michalson shares Brunner's fascination for the so-called Non-Church (Mukyokai) movement, though his evaluation seems to be somewhat different from that of Brunner. Indeed, Mukyokai is an important thread that has run through the history of Protestant Christianity in Japan. Its founder, Kanzo Uchimura, like many other prominent Japanese Christian leaders of his time, lived in the

<sup>7</sup>*Ibid.*, p. 339.

<sup>8</sup>Michalson, *op. cit.*, p. 11.

days of political and cultural transition known as the Meiji Restoration. The architects of the Meiji regime wanted a Westernized, "modern" nation-state without losing the traditional religious and cultural framework. As a by-product of modernization, the Japanese government lifted the ban against Christianity in 1873 (even though unofficially Western missionaries had begun their work earlier than this date), and this act of the government gave the impetus for various branches of Christianity to engage in vigorous evangelical and educational programs. As early as 1874, Bishop Channing Moore Williams established Rikkyo (St. Paul's) College, and in the same year the American Methodist Episcopal Church established Kaigan Jogakko, which later developed into Aoyama Gakuin. In 1875, Dr. Joseph (Hardy) Niishima established Doshisha College in Kyoto. Thus, the establishment of these Christian colleges preceded the founding of Tokyo Imperial University in 1877, and they attracted many ambitious youths. In addition to these young people who were converted by the work of the missionaries and Christian institutions, there were a small number of Japanese youths who became Christians under the influence of foreign teachers who were on the faculties of government institutions. From the latter group came many prominent future Christian leaders, including Kanzo Uchimura.

From the beginning there was a tension between Western missionaries and some Japanese Christian leaders. In the main, missionaries regarded education and social work as means of evangelism, and they hoped and believed that through Christian influence a Western "Christian" culture would displace the traditional "pagan" culture of Japan. "It was not only the eye of faith, but also the eye of the Westerner, who subconsciously lived in the conviction that he could dispose of the destiny of the world, because the absorption of the Eastern by the Western world appeared to come inevitably." Unfortunately, only those Japanese who accepted the foreign missionaries' views and idiosyncrasies were given positions of responsibility and leadership within the ecclesiastical institutions. However, there were some Japanese Christians who did not share the missionaries' wish to see Western culture replace traditional Japanese culture. They wanted to "reform Japan through Christianity," which they felt was the spiritual fulfilment of the Meiji reformation. They were iconoclastic and patriotic at the

<sup>9</sup>Kraemer, Hendrik. *The Christian Message in A Non-Christian World*, p. 36.

same time, and their Christian faith was characterized by an enduring Biblicism and anti-ecclesiastical tendencies.<sup>10</sup> Many of them taught in government universities with the conviction that through their personal witness they would influence the future leaders of Japan.

This tradition has been preserved to this day by the Non-Church movement. Emil Brunner feels that "this movement is most promising for the future, and for all Christianity." He goes so far as to say, "It is now possible to be a disciple of Christ, to live with Christ, and in fellowship with others to do something in his name—without the necessity of becoming a 'church.'"<sup>11</sup> Whether or not Brunner's exalted evaluation of the movement is to be taken on its face value is a debatable question. Nevertheless, its strong influence among the intellectuals is significant, considering the fact that most established church groups have never been successful in making inroads among academic people. Only recently, Dr. Tadao Yanaibara, the former president of Tokyo University and an unofficial spokesman of the Mukyokai movement, was chosen by *Bungei Shunju*, a popular literary magazine, as one of the ten leading religious leaders, together with Buddhist patriarch Shiao, the noted Zen scholar D. T. Suzuki, Roman Catholic Cardinal-Archbishop Peter Tatsuo Doi, and the Anglican Presiding Bishop Michael Hinsuke Yashiro. Having no paid or theologically trained ministers, the lay Bible teachers of Mukyokai depend solely on the message of the Bible. While we agree with Michalson that "the expression of Christianity which prevails in the Non-Church movement is a relatively immature expression,"<sup>12</sup> we can hardly underestimate the importance of this movement as a corrective to the usual approach of established churches in Japan.

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Michalson is at his best when he characterizes the main features of the leading Japanese theologians. Space does not permit us to deal with each one of the theologians discussed in the book. In passing it might be observed that, partly due to his own preoccupation with systematic theology, Michalson seems to be primarily interested in dog-

<sup>10</sup>Cf. Kitagawa, Joseph M., "Appraisal of the Church-Related University in Japan," *Kirisutokyo Kenkyu* (Studies in the Christian Religion), XXXI, pp. 198-211.

<sup>11</sup>Brunner, Emil, "The Unique Christian Mission: The Mukyokai ('Non-Church') Movement in Japan," *Religion and Culture: Essays in Honor of Paul Tillich*, p. 290.

<sup>12</sup>Michalson, *op. cit.*, p. 124.

matic or systematic theologians at the expense of the historical and other theologians. The only Biblical theologian who is discussed at all is Dr. Zenda Watanabe, author of *The Doctrine of the Scriptures* (*Seisho-ron*). Michalson rightly characterizes Watanabe's views concerning the Bible as follows: First, "the theological interpretation of the Bible must have primacy over historical criticism." Second, "canonicity is the church's recognition of the self-assertion of the Bible as the rule of faith and life," that is to say, the church "does not claim the Bible to be the authority; it simply claims that the Bible is a book that puts an authoritative claim upon the church." Third, "the meaning of that claim, however, is that the Bible is a *Gestalt*, a structure of books, which depends for its impact in a measure upon the appropriation of the Bible as a whole." Fourth, "the understanding of the Bible as the canon of the church recognizes thereby a unity without which the Bible could often seem an inherently contradictory book."<sup>12</sup> Watanabe's well-balanced and comprehensive Biblical hermeneutics demands an equally thoroughgoing theology of the church. Michalson also turns his attention to this doctrine.

The most prominent systematic theologian in Japan, in Michalson's view, is Yoshitaka Kumano, professor at the Tokyo Union Theological Seminary. Michalson neatly summarizes Kumano's three major works, *Eschatology and Philosophy of History*, *Outline of Christianity and Dogmatics* (2 vols.). Although Kumano has never travelled abroad, his works are the most westernized of all the leading Japanese theologians, and, as Michalson points out, his three works appear to adopt three different points of departure. The most important among them is his *Dogmatics*, which is characterized by Michalson as "the Theology of Church Existence." It is based on the doctrines of (1) Predestination, (2) Creation, (3) Anthropology, (4) The Church, and (5) Ethics. Kumano's doctrine of predestination is deeply grounded in his nonapocalyptic eschatological faith, which is more fully developed in his *Eschatology and Philosophy of History*. Kumano manages to interrelate creation, incarnation and eschatology:

The world waits for the incarnation of God. Until the perfect dialectical unity of eternity and time realizes itself, time knows neither eternity nor itself. In order to save time, God becomes in-

<sup>12</sup>*Ibid.*, pp. 39-44.

carnate. Only in God in history does man know both God and himself.<sup>14</sup>

In so stating, Kumano interprets Eschatology as a dialectic movement between existence toward death (Anthropology) and existence under God (Revelation).<sup>15</sup>

Ironically, the most unimaginative part of Kumano's comprehensive system is the doctrine of the Church as *communio sanctorum* and *corpus Christi*. He is correct in differentiating *dento* (tradition as past history) from *densho* (tradition as witness), and his criticisms of the Roman Catholic understanding of tradition and of the Non-Church attitude toward the church are sound. Moreover, he stresses the eschatological character of the church as the historical realization of eternal life and relates this insight to Ethics. "The ethic is primarily the eschatological dimension of community with God in Christ through the church, which supports our action in the world with ultimate meaning."<sup>16</sup> What seems to be lacking in Kumano's system, however, is the theology of culture. His preoccupation with the eschatological, eternal, and universal character of the church suffers from lack of necessary emphasis on the particularity of the church, which is at least one aspect of the doctrine of incarnation. Thus, on the one hand, Kumano asserts that "world history is nothing but the history of the Church Catholic,"<sup>17</sup> but on the other hand he joyfully accepts the view that "outside the church there is no salvation."<sup>18</sup> Despite his Barthian twist of the traditional Calvinistic doctrine of predestination, he dismisses the Holy Spirit except as an eschatological reality "who makes us breathe eternity within this world and gives us the foretaste of eternal life."<sup>19</sup> Kumano has undoubtedly been the most successful among the theologians in Japan in incorporating various theological insights of the historic church. What is needed now is someone to relate Kumano's "Theology of Church Existence" to the religio-cultural situation in Japan.

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Who, then, is trying to re-think Christian theology from within the

<sup>14</sup>Quoted in *Ibid.*, p. 51.

<sup>15</sup>*Ibid.*, p. 52.

<sup>16</sup>*Ibid.*, p. 71.

<sup>17</sup>*Ibid.*, p. 69.

<sup>18</sup>*Ibid.*, p. 57.

<sup>19</sup>*Ibid.*, p. 51.



concrete conditions of the Japanese situation? In Michalson's opinion, "the theology of Kazoh Kitamori is the most self consciously Japanese of the current theological tendencies in Japan."<sup>20</sup> This young Lutheran, now a member of the United Church (Kyodan), has recently made a profound impression on Japanese theological circles with his "Theology of the Pain of God." His concern for involvement in the Japanese spiritual experience of suffering enables him to refer to Buddhism as "our tradition," and to him, "suffering is the common term that links God, the Christian faith, and Japanese existence."<sup>21</sup> His insistence that pain is the essence of God is not to be confused with Patricianism. "The pain that God has is not the pain of sympathy or of empathy with man's misfortunes. It is a pain in God's very being as God, connected not so much with man's physical misfortunes as with his sinful estrangement from God."<sup>22</sup> Kitamori's understanding of God's pain is closely related to his interpretation of God's love and God's wrath. God, who loves the unlovable, does so at the price of letting his Son die, because "God's relation to the sinner involves God either in the death of the sinner or in a death of his own."<sup>23</sup> Based on the insight derived from Philippians, chapter 2, Kitamori interprets the relationship between the wrath and love of God.

Pain is a third thing in God between love and wrath. It is a synthesis of love and wrath in which the love conquers the wrath. It is not man's sin but God's wrath that accounts for the pain of God. For the pain is the act of swallowing up his wrath.<sup>24</sup>

In this sense, the pain of God is the good news of reconciliation and the healing of the brokenness of human existence. Christian faith implies one's willingness to bear pain as the symbolic witness to God's pain. The church is the Body of Christ, in which the pain of the cross continues and in which each believer accepts the role of suffering servant.

Understandably, Kitamori takes seriously the ministry of reconciliation to the world, which is achievable only through the pain of disruption in a man's own existence. He finds profound meaning in Paul's

<sup>20</sup>*Ibid.*, p. 73.

<sup>21</sup>*Ibid.*, p. 74.

<sup>22</sup>*Ibid.*, p. 76.

<sup>23</sup>*Ibid.*, p. 78.

<sup>24</sup>*Ibid.*, pp. 78-79.



discipleship, which involved the pain of disruption between Christian and Jew.

The Jews as a people had repudiated Christ, yet Paul as a Christian could not cease being a Jew. At the same time, he could not separate himself from Christ. He was to the end both a Christian and a Jew. Embracing both in one Paul experienced the pain of disruption as an instrument of reconcilization.<sup>25</sup>

Likewise, Kitamori tries to remain both a Christian and a Japanese. That is why he concerns himself with the relevance of Communism in contemporary Japan and the significance of the poetic form *Haiku*, and that is why he finds a correlation between his theological formulation of the pain of God and the Buddhist attitude toward suffering. In this connection, however, Kitamori finds the gospel of Buddhism falls short of truth at the point of the pain of God: "Buddhism lacks wrath in its absolute. Thus the sorrow and suffering of Buddhism is only sympathy, and not pain."<sup>26</sup> In passing, we might comment that Kitamori's evaluation of Buddhism at this point is highly debatable. Nevertheless, he is probably one of the very few Christian theologians who are trying to relate Christian theology to the spiritual and religious heritage of the Japanese people.

In many ways, Kitamori has been deeply influenced by his Buddhist Neo-Hegelian teacher, Hajime Tanabe, the advocate of a "philosophy of *metanoetics*." Tanabe insists that a *metanoia* in the "death and resurrection" experience of conversion alone enables one to transcend *noetics* or metaphysics as speculative philosophy in the realm of subject-object relationship. Thus rejecting the traditional Hegelian speculative synthesis, *as well as*, and Kierkegaardian dichotomy, *either/or*, Tanabe advocates *neither/nor*—

a thoroughgoing negativity of our immediate (the repentance of one's radical sin) by the mercy of the Absolute, who also negates Himself for the sake of Love and Mercy. Our repentance of sin means the forgiveness and negation of it by the grace of the Absolute. For the very reason that God or Buddha is the Absolute Nothingness, He is the power and mercy of absolute self-surrender.<sup>27</sup>

<sup>25</sup>*Ibid.*, pp. 96-97.

<sup>26</sup>*Ibid.*, p. 87.

<sup>27</sup>Takeuchi, Yoshinori, "Buddhism and Existentialism: The Dialogue between Oriental and Occidental Thought," *Religion and Culture: Essays in Honor of Paul Tillich*, p. 301.

Tanabe's influence on Kitamori's formulation is evident when the latter holds that, according to the law, there is a fundamental *either/or* between God and man. "But Jesus Christ is the righteous *apart* from the law. In him the *either/or* is overcome by a *both/and*."<sup>28</sup> The redeeming act of God in Christ, however, implied the necessity of Christ's being "forsaken by both God and man in the perfect solitude of *neither/nor*."<sup>29</sup> And, Christ's acceptance of *neither/nor* transcended the *either/or*, reconciling *both/and*.<sup>30</sup> Could this be a way of developing a comprehensive Christian theology of Eastern religions and cultures? We cannot be too certain as yet. In the meantime, articulate Buddhist thinkers are also developing, starting from a Buddhist "theological circle," to use Tillich's term, what might be called a "Buddhist theology of religion and culture." It will be exciting, indeed, to see a dialogue taking place between Buddhist philosophers and Christian theologians in Japan on these vital issues.

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Once Hendrik Kraemer pointed out "the Japanese propensity to evaluate religion not as the supreme thing in life, but as its ethical and social significance, and . . . [as] therefore more interested in value than in truth."<sup>31</sup> While this characteristic is still true of average church people, it is not altogether so for Japanese theologians. One who made a notable contribution in the search for truth in religion was Seiichi Hatano, late professor at Kyoto University. Hatano, unlike Kitamori, was not a kerygmatic theologian, nor was he concerned primarily with the life of the church in Japan. Michalson astutely observes:

He [Hatano] sets out to contribute to Japanese philosophy the metaphysical profundities that are revealed through the Christian faith. He does so in the conviction which he developed in his observation of the correlation of Christianity and Western philosophy. Religion, he concludes, is the soul and source of all metaphysics.<sup>32</sup>

Throughout his life, Hatano attempted to articulate philosophy of religion as the theoretical retrospection or reflective self-understanding

<sup>28</sup>Michalson, *op. cit.*, p. 95.

<sup>29</sup>*Ibid.*, pp. 95-96.

<sup>30</sup>*Ibid.*, p. 96.

<sup>31</sup>Kraemer, *op. cit.*, p. 390.

<sup>32</sup>Michalson, *op. cit.*, p. 103.

of religious life-experience. He differentiated the task of philosophy of religion from that of theology, which to him implied a practical concern to clarify and develop the truth of a particular religion for the life and activity of that religious community.<sup>30</sup> Inevitably, however, the reflective study of any religion demands a philosophical view. Holding this, Hatano rejects the theologians' use of philosophy as a means.<sup>31</sup> On the other hand, he does not accept the view that there is only one true philosophy of religion, to be affirmed universally by every seeker of truth. There have been a variety of philosophical views and principles, some of which are bound to be contradictory. Following this line of thought, Hatano states that there is no such thing as *the* true philosophical standpoint for the religio-philosophical approach to the structure and essence of religion in general. Thus, a philosopher of religion must determine the kind of philosophical viewpoint he will accept for his religio-philosophical endeavor.<sup>32</sup>

For his own philosophy of religion, Hatano accepted the key concept of *agape* as the starting point, and developed the thesis that the structure of time is correlated with the different types of love, such as *epithumia* or desire for the time of natural life, *eros* for the time of cultural life, and *agape* for the time of religious life. To him, love is the mode of experiencing eternity, which is the perfect unity of future and present, and thus it follows that "an understanding of the presence of God as our future (*shorai*) is as much a judgment upon a life oriented to a merely spatially defined future (*mirai*) as it is upon a life oriented to the past. Both are a form of death."<sup>33</sup> From this standpoint, Hatano also develops a philosophical ethics of *agape* as a judgment upon *epithumia* and *eros*. Here, however, he is not advocating a smooth "escalator" philosophy, ascending automatically from natural to cultural, and then to religious life. An experience of God involves the annihilation of the self, and only then can one understand the symbol of creation. "The doctrine of creation *ex nihilo* instructs the self in the realization that the very acts by which God reduces man to nothing are the acts in which he confers wholeness of being upon man."<sup>34</sup> Hatano also finds a profound philosophical meaning in the symbol of

<sup>30</sup>Hatano, Seiichi, *Shukyo-tetsugaku no honshitsu to sono kompon-mondai*, p. 22.

<sup>31</sup>Michalson, *op. cit.*, p. 133.

<sup>32</sup>Hatano, *op. cit.*, p. 36.

<sup>33</sup>Michalson, *op. cit.*, p. 115.

<sup>34</sup>*Ibid.*, p. 117.

resurrection, which implies not only the death of the physical body but also the perishing of the arts and sciences of this world. The Resurrection reveals the truth that:

the blind resistance of nature in this world will be changed into the dignity and glory of God. . . . In this present world, ideas have authority in proportion to the excellence of cultural life. But in the next world where love is the unique, eternal reality, the concrete individual who was despised in this world may be the first to be resurrected by God's power.<sup>38</sup>

Even such a sketchy description of Hatano's thesis makes it clear that he accepted the key Christian category of *agape*, not to make philosophy of religion subservient to Christian theology, but to enrich his philosophy of religion with Christian insights that he had experienced. His serious religio-philosophical endeavor has made an indirect but great contribution to the cause of Christianity in Japan, because Hatano's philosophy of religion reminded the Japanese intellectuals, who were prone to dismiss Christianity merely as a Western religion, that they had to take seriously the meaning of Christian faith in their inquiry into religious truth.

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In analyzing the theological situation in Japan, Anglicans the world over are naturally interested to know what the theologians of Nippon Seikokai are contributing to theological thought in Japan. It is well known that the early Anglican missionaries from both Great Britain and North America were keenly aware of the necessity for the educational work of the church in view of the high rate of literacy in Japan. They initiated not only kindergartens and secondary educational institutions for both boys and girls but also colleges and theological seminaries. As far as theological schools were concerned, the American mission, the S.P.G. and the C.M.S. had their respective programs, which later were amalgamated as the Central Theological College, Tokyo.<sup>39</sup> Meanwhile, Rikkyo Daigaku (St. Paul's University), founded by the first American missionary bishop, Channing Moore Williams, also had a Department of Religion, which has come to be known after World War II as the Department of Christian Studies. And since

<sup>38</sup>*Ibid.*, p. 124.

<sup>39</sup>For a brief account of the Anglican Church in Japan, see Tucker, Henry St. George. *The History of the Episcopal Church in Japan*.

the war two other ministerial training schools have been established—Bishop Williams Seminary in Kyoto and St. Gabriel's Theological Institute in Kobe. Normally, candidates for Holy Orders must be graduates of any one of the four hundred odd colleges or universities—church-related, private, municipal, or government—before they are admitted to Central Theological College, Tokyo. But those who feel the vocation, and are not qualified academically, can be trained in the institutions in Kyoto or Kobe. Some of the academically inclined clergy have been sent to England, Australia, Canada, or the United States for further study, and each one of the ten dioceses that comprise Seikokai has a core of well educated parish clergy. Thus, one might conclude that Seikokai has sufficient provisions for the training of its clergy.

However, those who are concerned with the quality of theological education for the present and future of Nippon Seikokai have every reason to be alarmed. One may argue, of course, that Anglican theological education in Japan is just as good as, if not better, than its counterparts in the Philippines, Hong Kong, Burma, Singapore, and India. But there is no denying that the standard of Central Theological College, which is the "highest" theological institution of Seikokai, is far below that of other theological institutions in Japan, such as those of the Roman Catholic Church, Doshisha (formerly Congregational), Aoyama Gakuin (formerly Methodist), and the Tokyo Union Theological Seminary. We can, of course, cite many reasons for this lamentable situation, i.e., economic poverty and theological isolation of Seikokai. Nevertheless, insufficient libraries and the lack of opportunities for research do not encourage creative theological thinking among faculty and students. Also, government of the Central Theological College by the Board of Trustees, which in effect is the Japanese House of Bishops, and the direct control of the institutions in Kyoto and Kobe by the respective diocesan bishops, may not be in line with the best policy for the development of theological education. Bishops, after all, are not necessarily experts on the subject of theological education, and it would help the cause a great deal if some other clergy and laity, including scholars, could be asked to participate on the policy making level.

A more fundamental weakness, perhaps, of Anglican theological education in Japan is the fact that theological training is defined solely in ecclesiastical terms. That theology is deeply rooted in the life of the church, no one questions. But the church is interpreted, more often

than not, as the physical institution called Nippon Seikokai without taking due account of the church as *communio sanctorum* and *corpus Christi*. In such a situation, theology can be easily confused with churchmanship and the ministry imbued with a clerical professionalism. Furthermore, the Anglican ethnocentrism of British and American missionaries of the last one hundred years has influenced the Seikokai in such a way that, theologically and religiously at any rate, Japanese churchmen tend to feel more kinship with Anglicans in the West than with Japanese Christians of other traditions, both Roman Catholic and Protestant, to say nothing of Shintoists, Buddhists, secularists or Communists. In the main, the theological curriculum of Seikokai has been a pale imitation of the Anglican theological curriculum in North America or Great Britain. Students are encouraged to read writings of contemporary Western theologians, but they seem to have only a superficial knowledge of theological and philosophical writings of Japanese scholars, Christian and non-Christian. The theological ethos of Seikokai is visibly illustrated by the fact that there are only two full-time Japanese professors on the faculty of Central Theological College, Tokyo; the rest are all Western missionaries. In all fairness, however, we should mention that Yoshimitsu Endo, professor of Ethics, has written a number of penetrating articles and books<sup>40</sup> which have been widely read by Christians and non-Christians in Japan, and Toshio Endo, part-time lecturer at Central Theological College, has made a great contribution to the recent revision of the Japanese Old Testament, which is an authorized version for all the non-Roman churches in Japan. But deeply rooted ethnocentrism dies hard. Many Japanese Anglicans are most eager to study abroad, even in the second rate Anglican seminaries in the West, but very few aspire to pursue further study in any one of the many graduate institutions in Japan, despite the fact that the academic standard of many of these Japanese institutions is higher than most of the Anglican seminaries in the West.

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Maybe the peculiar characteristics of the Anglican theological situation in Japan can be better explained sociologically than theologically. It has often been said that the ethos of the Anglican church in Japan is a mixture of a bureaucratic mentality dominated by foreign mission-

<sup>40</sup>See *Japan Missions: An Anglican Missionary Quarterly*, IX, pp. 17-18, for a review of Endo's latest book, *Kyokai to Shakai* (Church and Society).



aries, and a hidden and yet persistent traditional Japanese feudalistic spirit. In the pre-war days when most bishops were either British, Canadian, or American, only those Japanese who were "approved" by the missionary administrators were given positions of leadership and responsibility. Sadajiro Sugiura, the late president of St. Paul's University, who had earned both a Ph.D. and a Th.D. in America, was not ordained because of his non-conforming theological views, and Yoshiro Saeki, a noted authority on Nestorian Christianity in China, was not ordained to the priesthood for a similar reason. Even today, the oligarchy of the Japanese church is not concerned with the contribution of able Japanese theologians, some of whom are churchmen. For example, when the Japanese Association for Religious Studies published *Religious Studies in Japan*, it asked leading Japanese scholars to contribute articles in their respective fields. Among those who were asked to write on Christian studies were three Anglicans: Kiyoshi Ohata, professor of Tokyo University, who wrote on "Duality in Paul," Hideyasu Nakagawa, professor of Hokkaido University, who wrote on "The Son of God in the Epistle to the Hebrews," and Enkichi Kan, professor of Rikkyo (St. Paul's) University, who wrote on "Liturgics as a Theological Problem." These men are well known as prominent scholars and as Anglicans throughout Japan, but their contribution has hardly penetrated the theological thinking of Seikokai. There are other Anglicans who are also promising theologians, including Michio Taniguchi, the interpreter of Paul Tillich's thought in Japan. These, too, are better known in non-Anglican circles than within the church. We do hope that the recent election of two men with solid theological minds, Naohiko Okubo and Makoto Goto, to the episcopate may loosen the theological "party line" of Seikokai.

It is evident that the growth of theological thinking in Japan implies more than a broadening of the theological curriculum. Basically, the theological question before the church in Japan is two-fold: (1) how to understand and *interpret* the Christian gospel for the people in the historic, cultural, and existential situation in Japan, and (2) how to interpret Japanese history and culture, nourished by Buddhism, Shinto, and Confucianism, in the light of Christianity. Seikokai's lack of interest and perception in this two-fold task is probably no worse than that of other churches; only the Roman Catholic church has been concerned with this problem for a number of years. In the summer of 1955, Tetsutaro Ariga, professor of Christianity at Kyoto University,



contacted twenty-three theological institutions and obtained information from eighteen of them, including two Roman Catholic seminaries. Among other things, he noted that most of the schools taught Buddhism as part of a more general history of religions, usually as a required course of at least four semester hours; only three of them gave specialized courses in Buddhism (all elective). "The most disconcerting part of my findings," says Ariga, "was the dearth of Japanese Christian scholars competent to give courses in Japanese religions. They were indeed so scarce that in the Tokyo area one Christian scholar, Professor Hiyane, had to teach the subject in six different theological schools."<sup>41</sup>

How can we explain, you may ask, the curious phenomenon that Christians in Japan have been so unappreciative of the Japanese culture and religions which surround them? Many people today blame the early Western missionaries, who, because of their naive pietism, rejected all cultural values which they considered "pagan," and expected Japanese converts to Christianity to adopt exclusively the so-called "Christian values."<sup>42</sup> There is much truth in this observation, of course. At the same time, we have to recognize that many of the early Japanese converts to Christianity were iconoclastic. For example, Danjo Ebina, one of the prominent Protestant leaders during the Meiji and Taisho periods, recalled how he and other young Japanese intellectuals felt that the Meiji restoration in 1868 had destroyed not only the Tokugawa feudal socio-political order but also the foundation of the traditional moral and religious values. Thus, to them, Christianity was something entirely new, unparalleled by anything in their previous experience.<sup>43</sup> Since the Meiji period, most Japanese Christians have affirmed the uniqueness of the Christian faith despite differences of shades and degrees. To be sure, Christianity has been criticized and attacked by the adherents of Buddhism, Shinto, Confucianism, science, nationalism, and Marxism; but Christians have defended their case, based mostly on their own experience of salvation and sanctification and very little on the philosophical or theological grounds.<sup>44</sup> By the

<sup>41</sup>Ariga, Tetsutaro, "Christian Mission in Japan as a Theological Problem," *Religion in Life*, XXVII. p. 378.

<sup>42</sup>Kitagawa, Joseph M., "The Overseas Mission in the Bandung Era," *The Episcopal Overseas Mission Review*, II. pp. 41-48.

<sup>43</sup>Cf. "Waga shinko no yurai to keika," ("The Development of my Faith,"), an address given by Ebina at Doshisha Church in 1922.

<sup>44</sup>See Kishimoto, Hideo, Ed., *Japanese Religion in the Meiji Era*, Part III "Christianity," pp. 173-309; also Schwantes, Robert S. "Christianity versus Science: A Conflict of Ideas in Meiji Japan." *The Far Eastern Quarterly*, XII. pp. 123-132.

time Japanese theologians became self-conscious, say in the middle of the 1930's, they came under the strong influence of Karl Barth, whose rejection of natural theology led Japanese theologians to explicate the meaning of God's special revelation in Jesus Christ at the expense of the theological interpretation of the relationship between faith and culture. Incidentally, one of the most articulate interpreters of Barthian theology in Japan has been Enkichi Kan, a prominent Anglican scholar.<sup>45</sup>

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The church situation in post-war Japan reflects the ambiguities and difficulties within the social, political, economic, and cultural realms. During the 1930's and the first half of the 1940's, Christians were barely tolerated, if not persecuted, by chauvinistic militarists, for the government considered Shinto the state religion for all practical purposes. For example, all Japanese subjects, including Christians and Buddhists, were told to demonstrate their loyalty to the empire by participating in the ceremonies in Shinto shrines. Under such pressure from the government, in May, 1936, the *Congregatio de Propaganda Fide* instructed the Papal Delegate in Tokyo, to allow these Shinto ceremonies to be treated as non-religious so that Japanese Roman Catholics could participate in them.<sup>46</sup> Many Protestants made a similar compromise. In 1944, the Church of Christ in Japan, known as "Kyodan," which was a union of major Protestant denominations, joined the Japanese Wartime Patriotic Religious Association, in cooperation with the Roman Catholic, Shinto and Buddhist bodies.<sup>47</sup>

Japan's surrender to the Allied Powers in 1945 was followed by a sudden transformation of all aspects of Japanese culture and society. Gone was the divine prerogative of the throne and government sponsored Shinto. More serious was the fact that the Japanese people lost their sense of national destiny. The post-war economic recovery of Japan, it is true, has been remarkable, thanks largely to American aid. The delicate world situation shattered MacArthur's dream of Japan as a "Switzerland in Asia." In 1947 the United States policy changed

<sup>45</sup>Kan's work, *Risei to Keiji* (Reason and Revelation), is briefly commented upon by Michalson in his last chapter, "The Maturity of Japanese Theology, *op. cit.*, pp. 128ff.

<sup>46</sup>Kraemer, *op. cit.*, pp. 403-404.

<sup>47</sup>Bunce, William K., *Religions in Japan—Buddhism, Shinto, Christianity*, pp. 153-155.

from democratization to rearmament of Japan, because Japan was considered to be an anti-Communist citadel in Asia. Events move quickly in today's world, indeed too quickly for the people in Japan, who lost the political, cultural, and religious compass which had guided them from time immemorial! In such a situation, we can understand why nihilism, Communism, and *Shinko Shukyo* (new religious sects)<sup>40</sup> capture the minds of the people. Older religions—Shinto, Buddhism, as well as Sect Shinto Denominations—are making their bids among the masses, too.

Immediately after the war, some Christians predicted that the constitutional guarantee of religious liberty, coupled with the reactivated missionary endeavor, would bring about the Christianization of a large segment of the Japanese populace. No one in his right mind takes such wishful thinking seriously today. The ineffectiveness of Christianity is due to many factors, and chief among them is the theological factor. The churches in Japan are paying today the price for their religious and theological "apartheid" principles. For the past one hundred years, Japanese churches have behaved very much as though they were bystanders in the religious situation of Japan. For instance, it was only in March, 1960, that the National Council of Churches in Japan finally accepted responsibility for the Christian Study Center for the Study of Japanese Religions. Strange as it may sound, Christian churches in Japan have existed for a century without such a study center, which (a) supplies information concerning Japanese non-Christian religions and their impact on Japanese culture and society, (b) provides a place where Christians and adherents of non-Christian religions can meet, and (c) produces Christian apologetic literature directed toward adherents of non-Christian religions.<sup>41</sup> While this is an important step in the right direction, Christianity in Japan must simultaneously encounter other problems confronting Japanese society and culture as well. In the publication of the National Council of Churches entitled "Problems and Tasks for Modern Christians," such problems as political order, the economic system, world peace, and the family

<sup>40</sup>On the post-war religious situation, especially about the new religious cults, see Oguchi, Ichi, "The Religions of Japan," *The Atlantic Monthly*, Vol. 195. pp. 122-125; McFarland, H. Neill, "The New Religions of Japan," *The Perkins School of Theology Journal*, XII. pp. 3-21; Nielsen, Niels C., Jr., "Religion and Philosophy in Contemporary Japan," *The Rice Institute Pamphlet*, XLIII. 4; Bairy, Maurice, *Japans Neue Religionen in der Nachkriegszeit*; also articles in *Contemporary Religions in Japan: The Japan Christian Quarterly*; and publications of The Christian Center for the Study of Japanese Religions, Kyoto.

<sup>41</sup>*Japanese Religions*, II. pp. 1-2.

system, were raised.<sup>60</sup> As yet, they have not received serious considerations by Japanese theologians, with a few exceptions, of course.

These comments do not mean that we have little respect for Michalson's view that we must take seriously Japanese Christendom "as a dialogical partner in the world church." There are signs of Christian maturity in Japan shown in the way in which Japanese theologians conceive the issues of faith at this particular time in world history, and their capacity to "enter into dialogue with other theologians occupied with these same issues."<sup>61</sup> We agree wholeheartedly with Michalson's conclusion: "By its acts of interpretation, the theological mind of Japan has bridged the gap between Jerusalem, Rome, Witttenberg, and Geneva on the one side, and Tokyo on the other."<sup>62</sup> This is an impressive achievement, considering the fact that Protestant Christianity has existed only one hundred years in Japan. However, should we not expect Japanese theologians to express their theological problems "in the Japanese language for the sake of Japanese people?"<sup>63</sup> This implies, among other things, a capacity on the part of Japanese theologians to take seriously the analysis of human nature and religious insights gained by the historic culture of Japan, as well as a willingness to enter into the spiritual struggle of present-day Japanese people. For, as Hidenobu Kuwada, president of Tokyo Union Theological Seminary, reminds us, "theologians must have an encounter with the truth of the Bible most of all, but this encounter must be made not in isolation from culture but n encounter with it."<sup>64</sup>

This article was written with the hope of acquainting Western Christians with some aspects of the theological situation in Japan, a situation which has been either unknown or dismissed as a sheer imitation of Western theology. It is evident that Christianity in Japan, or in other parts of the Eastern world for that matter, is facing a crucial turningpoint. The burden of history makes tremendous demands upon theologians of the so-called younger churches in the East. Also, "if Christian history as an ecumenical actuality is to persist in the future, the West must take up its side of the theological partnership and converse with the East."<sup>65</sup>

<sup>60</sup>Sato, Toshio, *et. al.*, *Gandai Kirisuto-sha no mondai to kadai*.

<sup>61</sup>Michalson, *op. cit.*, p. 126.

<sup>62</sup>*Ibid.*, p. 161.

<sup>63</sup>Ariga, *op. cit.*, p. 379.

<sup>64</sup>Kuwada, Hidenobu, "The Problem of Faith and Culture," *Religious Studies in Japan*, p. 434.

<sup>65</sup>Michalson, *op. cit.*, p. 162.

## TOLSTOY AS SEER OF BOTH FLESH AND SPIRIT

By N. O. LOSSKY\*

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Merezhkovsky, in discussing some question, liked to express his ideas in the form of an antithesis—such, for instance, as ‘Christ and anti-christ.’ This made for effect, but the result was not quite adequate to reality. Thus, his book *Tolstoy and Dostoevsky* is based upon the following antithesis: Dostoevsky is a seer of the spirit, and Tolstoy is a seer of the flesh. Both Tolstoy and Dostoevsky were writers of genius, seers both of the spirit and the flesh. Dostoevsky’s spiritual insight was more profound, but Tolstoy’s creative work also portrayed the spiritual life of man.

It is easy to show that Tolstoy had wonderful insight into man’s carnal life: recall, for instance, his description of the old cossack Yeroshka. But the same story, *The Cossacks*, tells of the remarkable experience which Olenin had when approaching the Caucassian mountains. Olenin was asleep in his carriage and, waking up in the morning, suddenly saw

as it seemed to him, about twenty paces away the pure white masses with their delicate outlines and the fanciful clear-cut airy line of their summits against the distant sky; and when he grasped how great was the distance between him and the mountains and the sky, and how enormous the mountains were, when he felt all the infinitude of this beauty, he was afraid that it was a mirage, a dream. “What is it?” he asked the driver. “Why, the mountains” the driver answered indifferently. At first the mountains merely struck Olenin with surprise, then they made him glad; but afterwards, as he gazed more and more intently at the snow-clad ridge rising straight out of the steppe and receding into distance he gradually came to grasp the beauty of the mountains and *to feel* them. From that moment all that he saw, all that he felt, acquired for him a new character, austere and majestic like the mountains. All his Moscow reminiscences, shame and repentance, all his commonplace dreams about the Caucasus melted away and

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returned no more. He looked at the sky—and remembered the mountains. He looked at himself, at Vanya—and again recalled the mountains. “And the mountains! And the mountains!”

Such perception of the majestic beauty of nature is a spiritual experience that transfigures the soul.

In *War and Peace* prince Andrey Bolkonsky's whole life is shown to be permeated with spiritual interests which come into the foreground under most diverse circumstances—when he is taking part in the war, in his work for the state, in his conversations with Pierre Bezuhov. A great deal is said about it in connection with his helping Speransky with the Law Code. Prince Andrey's conversation with Pierre about evil and human dignity is highly significant.<sup>1</sup> But he went through his most remarkable experience when, mortally wounded, he lay in a field-hospital and heard the sobbing of a man who had just had his leg amputated. Looking at him attentively prince Andrey recognized Anatole Kuragin. “Yes, that man is somehow closely and painfully connected with me” he thought. Suddenly he remembered Natasha, “and love and tenderness for her, stronger and more vivid than ever, awoke in his soul.” He remembered that Anatole had made it impossible for him to marry Natasha, but now he saw him only as a man sobbing with misery, and

ecstatic pity and love for that man overflowed his happy heart. Prince Andrey could no longer restrain himself and wept tender, loving tears for his fellow men, for himself and for his own and their errors. “Compassion, love for our enemies; yes, that love which God preached on earth and which princess Marya taught me and I did not understand—that is what made me sorry to part with life, that is what remained for me had I lived. But now it is too late. I know it.”

Such all-embracing Christian love is a lofty spiritual state.

Tolstoy lovingly describes the character and behaviour of princess Marya Bolkonsky and tells of her highly spiritual life. The princess was deeply religious. Love of God and prayerful communion with Him were the basis of her life. Her attitude to people was one of unfailing kindness. She set no value on her wealth and would have preferred to be a beggar. She loved and respected her father in spite of his

<sup>1</sup>Book V, ch. 11-12.

<sup>2</sup>Book X, ch. 37.



being stern and often unjust to her. She said to her brother Andrey that children should not presume to judge their father. She greatly liked to receive in her room 'God's folk'—pilgrims and 'fools in Christ.' That was the only thing in which she disobeyed her father. She had no physical beauty, but when her 'radiant' eyes expressed her wonderful spiritual nature she became beautiful. Princess Marya was almost saintly.

Pierre Bezuhov often succumbed to his carnal passions but he was good by nature and felt drawn to spiritual life. After meeting Bazdeyev, a Free-Mason, he received—probably from him—"The imitation of Christ" by Thomas à Kempis. Reading this book Pierre experienced "the joy, hitherto unknown to him, of believing in the possibility of attaining perfection and in the possibility of active brotherly love among men."<sup>3</sup> When he had joined the Masonic Order he made a tour of his estates in order to improve the lot of his serfs. He did not succeed in this because he was extremely impractical and trusted dishonest bailiffs. But Pierre's genuine striving after goodness was so obvious that when he went abroad to meet other Masons there he was promoted by them to a high post in the Order. In the conversation, already referred to, between prince Andrey and Pierre, prince Andrey said that his whole philosophy now was to live so as to avoid evil. But Pierre replied "and love of one's neighbour, and self-sacrifice? To love so as not to do evil and not to have to repent is not enough." Happiness, he thought, was to be found in trying to live for others.

In the novel *Anna Karenina* it is told how Karenin, having learned from his wife that she was Vronsky's mistress, hated them both and decided to divorce Anna. She was pregnant, and while he was away in Moscow, she gave birth to a child. After the confinement she developed puerperal fever and the doctors said that she was dying. This was telegraphed to Karenin and he returned to Petersburg. In Anna's boudoir Vronsky was sitting at the table, his face hidden in his hands, weeping. Anna called her husband and, hoping for his forgiveness, "looked at him with such passionate and ecstatic tenderness as he had never seen in her eyes." . . . "Forgive me, forgive me completely" she said. . . . "The nervous agitation of Alexey Alexandrovich kept increasing." He suddenly felt that "a glad feeling of love and forgiveness for his enemies filled his heart." At Anna's bidding Vronsky came to the side of the bed and, seeing Anna, again hid his face in his hands.

<sup>3</sup>Book V, ch. 3.



"Uncover his face" said Anna to her husband. Karenin took Vronsky's hands away from his face, which was awful with the expression of agony and shame upon it. "Give him your hand. Forgive him" said Anna. "Karenin gave him his hand, not attempting to restrain the tears that streamed from his eyes."

At the end of the seventies a profound spiritual change took place in Tolstoy. After this change, moral problems occupied a predominant place in his mind, and his striving after spiritual perfection grew in intensity. He wrote many treatises dealing with the nature of the good life. In some of them Tolstoy uses all the power of his genius to call forth in the readers love of their fellow-men and a desire to help them.

The instances quoted above are sufficient to show that Tolstoy was a seer not only of the flesh, but of the spirit also.

(Translated by Mrs. N. Duddington)

## THE BAPTISMAL RITE IN CHRYSOSTOM

By LEONEL L. MITCHELL\*

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In 1957 Antoine Wenger published in the series known as *Sources Chrétiennes* the text of eight catechetical lectures by St. John Chrysostom.<sup>1</sup> The text of these lectures, except for the third which existed in a Latin translation, was previously unknown and was discovered by Wenger, October 1955, in a codex in the library of the Stavronikita Monastery on Mt. Athos. It is his scholarly opinion that these lectures are genuine works of Chrysostom and form a single series. He believes that Chrysostom delivered them in Antioch during Lent and Easter Week in one of the years immediately following 388, probably in 390. From the titles of the lectures it is clear that the first two

\*Part IV, ch. 17.

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<sup>1</sup>Wenger, Antoine, *Jean Chrysostome: Huite Catéchèses Baptismales inédites.*

were delivered as part of the preparation of candidates for baptism,<sup>2</sup> while the remaining six are addressed to the newly baptized and deal with the manner of life which must be theirs as Christians.

In the second of these lectures Chrysostom describes in detail the rite of Holy Baptism to those who are "about to be illuminated." It is the intention of this paper to reconstruct the rite as fully as possible from his description. The Christian community, as it existed in the latter part of the fourth century, consisted not only of the baptized, but also of a large group of catechumens. Chrysostom tells us that the faithful comprised those baptized as infants at the request of their Christian parents,<sup>3</sup> those baptized *in extremis*, and those baptized as adults after an intensive course of preparation. Of the catechumens, a substantial number did not seek baptism until they were in danger of death,<sup>4</sup> and it was therefore necessary to distinguish those who seriously intended to prepare for baptism from the mass of catechumens. These candidates for baptism were organized into a class at the beginning of Lent and prepared for baptism during the ceremonies of the Easter Vigil. Chrysostom does not tell us definitely how long the period of pre-baptismal instruction was, but we learn from other sources that the custom was to open the rolls for the registration of candidates on the first day of Lent and to allow ten days for them to enroll, so that thirty days remained before Easter for the instruction.<sup>5</sup>

The first step, then, for a catechumen seeking baptism was to register on the roll of those about to be illuminated. Throughout his first lecture Chrysostom speaks of "those who are inscribed on the rolls of Christ."<sup>6</sup> At the time of their enrollment it was necessary for a sponsor to present them. Theodore of Mopsuestia, a contemporary and friend of Chrysostom, says that the sponsor had to testify to the registrar that the candidate is worthy of "the city and its citizenship."<sup>7</sup> It appears from the fact that Chrysostom addresses the sponsors<sup>8</sup> that they were also required to attend the pre-baptismal instructions with their candidates. The proper name for these sponsors was *anadexomen-*

<sup>2</sup>They are addressed "to those about to be illuminated."

<sup>3</sup>*Cat.* III. 6.

<sup>4</sup>Cf. Chrysostom, *Homily 23 on Acts*.

<sup>5</sup>Wenger, *op. cit.*, p. 74.

<sup>6</sup>E.g. *Cat.* I. 2.

<sup>7</sup>*Sermon II On Baptism*, ed. A. Mignana, *Woodbrooke Studies*, vol. 6. p. 25.

<sup>8</sup>*Cat.* II. 15.

oi, but Chrysostom tells us that they were commonly called *spiritual fathers*.

During the pre-baptismal period Chrysostom tells us that there was daily instruction, followed by exorcism. The fourth century Christian thought that the secular world was in the captivity of the devil, and that the driving out of devils from those about to be baptized was important and necessary. Since the devil would naturally fight hardest to retain those who were enrolled for baptism, they needed a daily exorcism to enable them to persevere in their struggle.

The first two lectures of this series are clearly a part of the daily instruction which the candidates received. After the sermon, the catechumens, with bare feet and upraised hands,<sup>9</sup> approach the exorcist, who "with fearful words and the invocation of the common Master of all" quickly puts the devils to flight, no matter how fierce and rough they may be. Chrysostom explains that the purpose of this ceremony is the preparation of the spirit of the candidate for the reception of the heavenly King.<sup>10</sup> The posture of the candidates is that of captives, and serves to remind them that they are being freed from the tyranny of the devil, so that by thinking upon their former degradation they may be encouraged to give thanks and to nourish good feelings.<sup>11</sup>

The ceremonies of the baptism itself begin with a renunciation of Satan and adherence to Christ. These ceremonies take place on the afternoon of the baptism, presumably on Holy Saturday. This ceremony is the culmination of the exorcisms in which the final "decision for Christ" is made. The priest orders the catechumen to kneel down, to lift his hands to heaven, and to pray. He then passes before each one and demands *synthekai* and *homoliai*. These words appear to be technical terms for the formula which each was required to repeat: "I renounce thee, Satan, and thy pomp, and thy service, and thy works. And I join myself to thee, Christ."<sup>12</sup>

It is not clear whether this was said as a single statement, or in three parts, as in the modern Orthodox rites.<sup>13</sup> The ceremony is described by Chrysostom as *syntheke*, *apotage*, and *syntage*. It is the

<sup>9</sup>Cat. II. 14.

<sup>10</sup>Cat. II. 12.

<sup>11</sup>Cat. II. 14.

<sup>12</sup>Cat. II. 21.

<sup>13</sup>Hapgood, I. F., *Service Book of the Holy Orthodox-Catholic Apostolic Church*, p. 274.

formal enlistment of the Christian soldier for battle under the standard of Christ, and for Chrysostom seems to be the moment which makes the catechumen a Christian for, after this, the initiate is at once anointed on the forehead with the spiritual chrism (*myron pneumatikon*) and given the seal or *sphragis*. It is not clear in the text who administers this anointing, as either passive verbs or the third person singular forms without an expressed subject are used throughout, but the probability is that the bishop does the anointing, and Wenger so indicates in his footnotes to the text. The formula used is, "So-and-so is anointed in the Name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Ghost."<sup>14</sup> It is logical to assume that the *sphragis* is the sign of the Cross, and the sense of the following passage seems to demand it, for it says that the devil must divert his eyes from it.<sup>15</sup>

Chrysostom describes this anointing as the unction of a combattant in the spiritual arena, for by his confession of the sovereignty of Christ and his adherence to Him, the initiate has aroused the full wrath of the devil, "who gnashes his teeth and roars like a lion" to find that his captives have defected and rallied to the banner of Christ. The sign of the Cross is to be the Christian's first defense against this fiercest onslaught of Satan, for the sight of the shining Cross on the Christian's forehead blinds the devil. From this moment the initiate has entered a critical time in which he fights as an athlete for Christ.<sup>16</sup>

This anointing with the holy chrism before the baptism is one of the unusual features of this rite. Normally consecrated things were given only to the faithful, and the catechumens at this point would be anointed with exorcised oil only, as in the modern Orthodox rite.<sup>17</sup> In the description of baptism in St. Cyril of Jerusalem's *Lectures on the Christian Sacraments*, a document representing roughly the same period, what follows the renunciation and adherence is not an anointing, but a solemn confession of faith, "I believe in the Father, and in the Son, and in the Holy Ghost, and in one baptism of repentance."<sup>18</sup> The anointing with chrism follows the baptism. There is no similar solemn profession of faith in Chrysostom.

<sup>14</sup>Cat. II. 22.

<sup>15</sup>Cat. II. 23.

<sup>16</sup>Cat. II. 22, 23.

<sup>17</sup>Hapgood, *op. cit.*, p. 279.

<sup>18</sup>Cyril, *Mystagogical Catechesis*, I. 9; in Cross, F. L., *op. cit.*

The rest of the ceremonies take place when it is dark.<sup>19</sup> First, the initiate is divested of all his clothing and his whole body anointed with the holy oil (*elaion pneumatikon*).<sup>20</sup> This anointing protects all of the bodily members and makes them invulnerable to the arrows of the enemy. Baptism is mortal combat against the devil, and every spiritual weapon will be needed by the initiate.

Next, after the anointing, the initiate goes down into the sacred font, and through the words of the priest the indwelling of the Holy Ghost descends, and a new man arises.<sup>21</sup> The scene here in Chrysostom's mind is that of the baptism of Christ in Jordan, as indeed this is the symbolism underlying most ancient Eastern rites. The going down into the water with Christ is accompanied by the laying on of the hands of the priest, who is probably the bishop rather than the presbyter, representing the hand and voice of the Father, and is accompanied by the anointing of the Spirit, completing the figure of our Lord's own baptism. Chrysostom describes this as a perfect washing away of the filth of sins, a laying aside of the old garments of sin, and a putting on of royal robes.<sup>22</sup>

Chrysostom describes the baptism itself in these words: "In order that you may learn also by this that the substance (*ousia*) of the Father and the Son and the Holy Ghost is one, this is the tradition (*paradosis*) of baptism. While the priest pronounces, 'So-and-so is baptized in the Name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Ghost,' he lets down and raises up the head three times, through this mystic rite (*telete*), preparing [you] to receive the visitation of the Spirit."<sup>23</sup>

Although the baptismal formula in Chrysostom is similar to modern formulae, it represents a new step in ancient baptismal forms. If we look at St. Cyril's description, we find, "And each of you was asked, whether he believed in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost, and ye made that saving confession, and descended three times into the water, and ascended again."<sup>24</sup> Here, instead of a formula recited by the bishop we have a question asked of the initiate. This seems to be the same type of formula as found in the *Apostolic*

<sup>19</sup>Cat. II. 24.

<sup>20</sup>Ibid.

<sup>21</sup>Cat. II. 25.

<sup>22</sup>Ibid.

<sup>23</sup>Cat. II. 26.

<sup>24</sup>Cyril. *op. cit.*, II. 4.

*Tradition of Hippolytus*, in which the creed was asked in interrogative form of the initiate in three sections, one for each person of the Trinity. To each question of "Dost thou believe?" he replied, "I believe," and was dipped after each response.<sup>25</sup>

The subsistution of a single formula for the threefold question seems to be a result of the Arian controversy, and Chrysostom apparently is anxious to assert the unity of the Godhead in the single formula, rather than in the three questions. Theodore of Mopsuestia also has the Trinitarian formula as did Chrysostom, and in his explanation, also asserts that we are baptized but once into the Name of the Godhead.<sup>26</sup>

After they come up out of the water, Chrysostom tells us only that all present welcome them, embrace them, give them the kiss of peace, and congratulate them on having been freed from slavery and made partakers of the Royal Table. He says that they are led to the Altar where they taste the Body and Blood of Christ, and that they have put on Christ and are brighter than rays of sunshine.<sup>27</sup> In the fourth lecture he refers to the neophytes as morning stars, which probably means that the ceremony has lasted all night, and that they emerge at dawn clothed in their shining white baptismal robes, but this is not specifically stated in the lectures.<sup>28</sup>

One ceremony, of which there is no mention in these lectures or in a parallel set published fifty years ago,<sup>29</sup> is the anointing with holy chrism after the baptism. If this were simply one ceremony connected with the baptism, its absence would be of interest only to students of the history of the baptismal liturgy, especially since the American Episcopal Church has no anointings anywhere in its baptismal rite. but it is this solemn anointing with chrism which Western theologians equate with confirmation. Cyril of Jerusalem describes an anointing with chrism between the baptism and the reception of Holy Communion, and Theodore of Mopsuestia has two anointings with chrism, one before the baptism like Chrysostom, and one after the baptism like Cyril. Theodore connects this post-baptismal anointing with the outpouring of the Spirit upon our Lord after His baptism, and the descent of the Spirit "upon you also." The formula used by the priest, as he

<sup>25</sup>Dix, G., *The Apostolic Tradition*, xxi. 12-18.

<sup>26</sup>Theodore, *op. cit.*, p. 58 (Sermon IV).

<sup>27</sup>*Cat.* II. 27.

<sup>28</sup>*Cat.* III. 1-4.

<sup>29</sup>Papadoulos-Kerameus, A., *Varia Graeca Sacra*.

signs the initiate upon the forehead is, "So-and-so is signed in the Name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Spirit."<sup>80</sup>

It is possible to draw several different conclusions from these facts. Chrysostom's entire description of the post-baptismal ceremonies is extremely brief. The lecture in which he describes baptism was a pre-baptismal lecture, and there are some grounds for believing that the early Christians would not talk with the unbaptized about the work of the Holy Spirit. If this is true, it is possible that Chrysostom and Theodore are describing the same rite, and that Chrysostom simply does not mention the second anointing. Certainly Chrysostom connected the outpouring of the Holy Spirit with the baptism, and said that the words and hand of the priest were the means of the descent and visitation of the Holy Ghost.<sup>81</sup> Whether he meant that this happened in baptism itself, or in an anointing immediately following the baptism, is open to argument.

Another way of interpreting the evidence is that Cyril in Jerusalem knew an anointing only after the baptism, while Chrysostom at Antioch knew of an anointing only before the baptism, and Theodore represents a conflation of the two rites, so that the anointing is duplicated. If this is the proper interpretation, it would be difficult to hold that fourth century theologians considered this anointing as important as modern Western theologians do.

Unfortunately this problem does not admit of a ready solution. The post-baptismal sermons in the Chrysostom series shed no light on the subject, as they deal with Christian morality, and not with the meaning of the rites. In any case, the absence of any mention of a rite considered by modern theologians to be of such great importance cannot pass without raising the question.

In a real sense, Chrysostom's description of baptism raises more questions than it answers, but it is only by the examination of the evidence that we may come to any meaningful conclusions about the meaning of baptism and the rites which surround it. The rite which this document describes gives us one picture of Christian Initiation in the fourth century.

<sup>80</sup>Theodore, *op. cit.*, Sermon IV, p. 68.

<sup>81</sup>*Cat.* II, 25.



## Special Book Review

### PROFESSOR LATTE'S HISTORY OF ROMAN RELIGION

By FREDERICK C. GRANT\*

Union Theological Seminary

*Römische Religionsgeschichte.* By Kurt Latte. Munich: Beck, 1960, pp. xvi + 444 + 16 plates. DM 38.50.

At last the long-awaited History of Roman Religion by Professor Kurt Latte of Göttingen is here. It takes the place of Georg Wissowa's great work in the *Handbuch der Altertumswissenschaft* (1902; 2d ed. 1912, now for many years out of print). Instead of a rewriting of Wissowa's classic work, Latte's is wholly new, with much generously acknowledged indebtedness to Wissowa, and also to his predecessor Theodor Mommsen: it is the indebtedness that every modern writer on Roman religion owes to those great pioneers. The attention paid to philological research and its results is far in advance of Wissowa; in fact, philological research is our only lantern and guide in the dim cavernous recesses of primitive Italian religious ideas and usages. Along with this, Latte maintains a soundly skeptical attitude; he is even more skeptical than Wissowa, who had abandoned much of the purely imaginary reconstruction of "primitive" Italian religion. Some of this imaginary reconstruction is as old as Livy and Ovid, and was freshly refurbished in the 19th century by various writers, and supplied with further support by the anthropological and comparative schools in the 20th. Most people simply do not realize how little we positively know about ancient Roman religion, i.e. its earliest periods, and also about many other areas in ancient history. Where the literature is silent and archaeological remains are lacking, we can only piece-out our fragmentary knowledge by guesses, analogies, probabilities, and other hypothetical constructions. For example, the legends and traditions

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and the positive historical material possessed by the old families in Italy were destroyed in the Civil Wars, and were replaced (or reconstructed) later on largely *ex hypothesi*. The really sound procedure is of course to mark off sharply what we really know from what we do not, and leave the data there, for any to piece-out who wish to do so, from imagination, fancy, or otherwise. A good example (one out of many) is Latte's view of the meaning of the murals in the Villa Iam at Pompeii (290 f.). In spite of the persuasive interpretations set forth by the experts, I for one have never been convinced that this was a Dionysiac mystery-scene. For one thing, to divulge and make public and permanent such a scene was strictly forbidden; for another, the villa contained the lovely (but, alas, damaged) statue of Livia now in the little Museum at Pompeii—and both the emperor and the empress strongly disapproved of mystery cults which were undermining the state religion; for still another, the alternative explanations (e.g., the whipping of the bride, to ensure fertility) seem just as probable. Latte's one sentence seems soundest of all: "Die Darstellungen nicht sicher deutbar sind." He rules out the Neo-Pythagorean interpretation, and in a footnote refers to the "mystery" hypothesis.

The arrangement of the book is admirably clear and follows the historical development in more definitely marked stages than are found in some other writings on the subject. The contributions of American scholars are recognized, e.g. Professor Agnes Kirsopp Michel's important article on the Lupercalia (1953), while Professor A. D. Nock's contributions extend still farther. As in the publication of Nilsson's *Geschichte der griechischen Religion*, his collaboration, including both criticism and the supplying of additional bibliographical references, is evident (and acknowledged) on many pages. As one who has benefited repeatedly from Nock's lavish and unstinted generosity, I can understand the gratitude of others for his help. The new work is accordingly much more than one scholar's *magnum opus* (which it certainly is!): it summarizes, soundly and conservatively, the whole consensus of present-day international scholarship. Warde Fowler and H. J. Rose are quoted as often as the German or French or Italian authorities. And although the book is meant for reference, it is readable as a textbook; Dr. Latte even adopts the continued-story device of pointing ahead to the next chapter as he closes the one just written! It is a book meant to last for generations (like Wissowa's), and it un-

doubtedly will last. For theologians and theological students, especially those working in the New Testament and Early Church History, the book is extremely valuable. Only, let the student do more than look up a reference here and there: the whole picture must be seen, the whole course of development of ancient Roman religion. For example, the emperor cult (on which there is a magnificent chapter, entitled "The Religion of Loyalty under the Caesars") must be viewed in relation to the long course of Roman history as a whole, and to the psychological needs and tensions of the time. Dr. Latte includes the psychological factor, so strongly urged by Jean Bayet in his recent *Histoire politique et psychologique de la religion romaine* (Paris 1957). Moreover, the aftermath, which survives to this day in Christian theology and institutions, must be considered: such as the papacy; the general character of Western theology as contrasted, more or less, with Eastern; the stress on sin, guilt and expiation instead of upon freedom, the new life in Christ, the transforming power of the Resurrection; the very language of the Western liturgies, Catholic and Protestant—all these are examples of the legacy from ancient Roman religion which the church took over and Christianized. For example, the Roman preface, which underlies our own: *Vere dignum et justum est, aequum et salutare, nos tibi semper et ubique gratias agere*—that sublime introduction to the holy mystery is full of ancient Roman piety, transformed and transfigured and sublimated, with the ancient superstition and bargaining (*do ut des!*) left out, and the open heavens shining down upon the Christian sacrifice. Or take the Presentation of the Elements: *Veni, Sanctificator omnipotens aeternae Deus, et benedic hoc sacrificium tuo sancto nomine praeparatum*. Come, Sanctifier; Come, God whom we adore and celebrate—that language is as old as the Homeric Hymns, and older; it is also as old as Augustus's Saecular celebration and Horace's *Carmen Saeculare* (see my *Ancient Roman Religion*, 1957, pp. 176-184); but how wonderfully transformed in tone, in outlook, in confidence, in genuine "fellowship with God" within the Christian fold!

The importance of Etruscan rites and religious conceptions is recognized throughout the book, especially in Ch. IX, where the rare examples of human sacrifice (too often invoked by Bayet and others) are explained (p. 257) as due to Etruscan influence and as a last desperate experiment in a time of utter frustration and danger to the Roman state. It was bare, ugly magic, anyway, not a religious rite, after the

battle of Cannae (216 B.C.), and, alas, it apparently worked. Later on, Rome forbade the practice among the conquered peoples (e.g. the Druids among the Gauls and Celts), and the stories of a renewal of the practice in the first century are suspicious.

The chapters (X—XIV on the downfall of Roman religion, the Augustan restoration (Latte shows how temporary and transient it really was, though he gives Augustus more credit for sincerity than some modern writers, e.g. Ludwig Deubner, allow), the imperial cult, the impersonal deities and the longing for personal security and protection, finally the ancient cults of the Roman state following the economic disaster in the middle of the third century—these chapters cover the period of the late Republic and early Empire, the period of the "Hellenistic Background of Early Christianity." These chapters are especially important for the Christian theologian, the Church historian, and the New Testament exegete.

But all through the work we see the evidence—as all through antiquity we can follow it, from the faint early traces of Roman piety to its final extinction (though it really never died, but lived on at least until the Renaissance and in part for much longer)—that the basic conceptions and motives of the religion remained the same (see pp. 38 ff.). Embedded in the language and the rites, and explaining the archaeological survivals, is the fundamental idea of *holiness*, in its primitive form, as an incalculable, unpredictable foreign power which one should approach only after the most careful preparation, like an electrician or atomic engineer handling a live wire or working with radioactive metal. The ideas of *tabu* and *mana* are clearly represented in ancient Roman religion. But the Latin word *sacer* curiously fails to convey this central idea or feeling of power, though it does recognize that one who has ignored the rules may be ostracized and driven out of the community. *Sacrum* is what belongs to the gods (incidentally, Latte does not fully share Wissowa's notion of a pre-deistic stage in Roman religion; the "powers," *numina*, were always more than mechanical or elemental forces like lightning or gravitation or the upward bubbling of a spring); what belongs to the gods is therefore separated from common and ordinary (i.e. profane) use; and the ignorant or careless person who ignores this distinction is driven out of the community with the formula *Sacer esto!* How like the Old Testament, e.g. Uzzah's unfortunate attempt to steady the ark, or Achan's wedge of gold! Sacri-

fice also belongs to the gods and is therefore "sacred." A complementary idea is conveyed by the word *fas*. *Fas est* means "allowable," i.e. it *can*—i.e. may—be done without religious scruple, not (as some writers assume) what *must* be done. The realm of the gods is sharply distinguished from that of men, and this distinction applies to fields and dwellings as it does to days and hours. Regard for these distinctions was expressed by the word *religio*, i.e. "conscientiousness, observance of things sacred, and recognition of the rights and claims of the powers above." It refers to acts, behavior, gestures, not to attitudes of inner devotion. "Religiosität bedeutet eben für den Römer nicht eine Gesinnung, die die ganze Persönlichkeit prägt, sondern die ständige Bereitschaft, auf jedes Anzeichen einer Störung des gewohnten Verhältnisses zu den Göttern mit einer begütigenden Handlung zu antworten und einmal übernommenen Verpflichtungen nachzukommen" (p. 39). Hence *religio* has no connection with *religare*, but points rather toward the Greek *ouk alegō*. As in all formal religions, the religious person is the *observant* one, the careful, the regardful, not the emotionally exalted or exuberant who sometimes fails in his religious "duties."

The word *pius* denoted something wholly different, something which is quite inadequately expressed by our word "pious." In Volscian, *pihom estu*=Latin *fas esto*, and from this the Latin *piare*, *piaculum*, was derived. But *pius* took on a social coloration, as all readers of Virgil realize, and eventually it was a quality even the gods might possess and be honored for possessing—the gods as well as *pius Aeneas*. Still another important central conception was that of *pax deum*, from which *propitius* came to be derived (in Umbrian). It represents the normal relation between gods and men, a state of peace and good will. But anything that roused the gods to opposition or intervention in human affairs was dangerous, and was proved by portents and prodigies announcing misfortune or threatening war; and it was the *portent* (not the god or gods) which had to be expiated. The importance of such "signs" is clear from the careful catalogues of them which we find in the Roman annals, e.g. in Livy, Suetonius, even Tacitus. They marked the rise and fall of nations, peoples, cities, kings, and their armies and navies. Unlike the Greeks, who "loved their gods," as Thaddeus Zielinski insisted and felt them near at hand, the average Roman was afraid of them, and shied away from any near approach to them or by them. This is evident from the formula *fas sit vidisse* (Seneca, *Epistle*

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1154, "May it be lawful, i.e. allowable, to have beheld [the god]," a motive not unknown in the Bible, where men despaired of "looking upon God and continuing to live"). Even Roman prayers concluded with some such reference, i.e. if such a prayer as has just been offered is permitted. One thinks of the shy conclusion of W. E. Gladstone's famous Prayer for the Departed, which in Victorian days was a daring act of devotion: "Forgive whatever is amiss in this our prayer!"

The whole chapter (IV, *Die Anfänge*) is most rewarding, and sets forth the views and interpretations which dominate the entire work (and also, as we said, the whole of Roman religious history); it should be studied carefully before proceeding with the rest. Among other things, Latte agrees with Nock, Altheim, and others in rejecting Wisowa's theory that the *Di Novensides* were imported dieties, a theory based on a mistake of Livy, who read back into remote antiquity ideas derived from his own day (p. 45; cf. p. 5 n.).

The likenesses and the contrasts with Greek religion, which have been so carefully expounded by Professor Nilsson (see ATR, XXX, 64-67; XXXIV, 11-26; XXXVII, 322), are striking: the two cannot be bracketed together any more. For example, the conception of pollution, *mainein. miasma*, found early in Greek religion (as in Hebrew) cannot be traced in Roman religion before the time of Cicero (p. 48), and instead of one unifying concept there was a whole series of concrete instances of defilement, i.e. aberration from the normal state of affairs (p. 49). *Castus*, e.g., was a purely negative term, and denoted the absence of any contamination, an idea which survives in too much of modern thinking. Real "purity" is certainly a positive, transforming work of grace as all who have encountered it in their own experience have learned. This the ancient Roman probably missed, though *casta Lucina*, in Horace's Hymn and in one or two inscriptions, meant more than mere absence of defilement.

Another admirable feature in Latte's book is to be found in his summaries at the ends of chapters which enable the student to review quickly what he has been over, and aid in recalling the major contents. I predict for this book a long and most useful life!



## BOOK REVIEWS

*The Bible and the Ancient Near East.* Essays in Honor of William Foxwell Albright.  
Edited by G. Ernest Wright. Doubleday & Co., 1961, pp. 409. \$7.50.

No American scholar has made as great a contribution to Old Testament studies in recent times as Prof. W. F. Albright of Johns Hopkins, now retired but still enormously active at writing, lecturing, and furthering a variety of projects in several branches of oriental and biblical study. It is fitting that he should be honored by a *Festschrift* which, both in size and intellectual distinction, is commensurate with his genius. The dimensions of that genius are clearly shown by the closely-printed bibliography of his writings, covering no less than twenty-six pages, which is included in the present volume. It begins with a small article on the Elephantine discoveries, published in 1911, and can hardly be said to end at all, since the book itself refers to a *History of the Religion of Israel*, yet to appear, which will certainly be the grand summation of Prof. Albright's achievements in the biblical field. It will no doubt contain the definitive exposition of the revolutionary—if sometimes strangely and almost perversely conservative—view of Old Testament religious development which he has previously sketched in fragmentary form and for which he has so meticulously laid the foundations during a lifetime of scholarly and polemical endeavor. It is significant of his inexhaustible energy that the most useful single chapter in this book supposedly dedicated to him, is an article by him, dealing with "the Role of the Canaanites in the History of Civilization," in which the reader will find assembled all that is currently known of that elusive, but historically important, people.

It was originally intended that this volume should follow the plan of *The Haverford Symposium on Archaeology and the Bible*, published in 1938, to which Albright contributed the first article and which gave a comprehensive picture of the contribution of archaeological science to biblical studies just before the outbreak of the Second World War. It would have been valuable to have such a symposium for the present day, but, as the editor confesses, the project for this book somewhere went astray and the resulting work is more of a *mélange*, and presents far less of a unified survey of the field than the original plan intended



or the title would suggest. It contains, for example, no article dealing with New Testament studies and completely ignores the important cultures of the Aramaeans, Iranians and even the Akkadians. In consequence, the individual articles must be judged for their intrinsic value rather than for the contribution they make to an integrated picture.

As is usual in a volume of this kind, the articles differ very much in character, not so much with respect to quality, since all are carefully and competently written, but rather as to the audience for which they are written and the degree of technical knowledge they presuppose. Only a few are really addressed to the non-specialist. The first, by John Bright, gives a brief, but useful, review of present tendencies in Old Testament study, particularly in the area of Pentateuchal criticism. On a more creative level, G. E. Mendenhall makes a first attempt to create a new outline for the history of Hebrew religion to supplant the now outmoded scheme of Wellhausen, which was based on 19th century philosophical presuppositions and involved a too-neat theory of unilinear development. His suggestion, admittedly tentative, is that Hebrew history be divided into a preparatory period (the age of the patriarchs), a creative period (that of Moses), an adaptive period (the judges and the early monarchy), a period of emphasis upon Israel's traditions (roughly, the age of the great prophets), and, finally, a period of "reformation," beginning with the Exile, when essential older traditions had to be re-embodied in new forms. The heuristic value of such a scheme is obvious, however much one may be inclined to argue either its general validity or the interpretation of a multitude of details. Though less urgent in theme, Prof. Kramer's lucid survey of ancient Sumerian literature will undoubtedly also prove of interest to the common reader; especially since it provides a necessary background for Jacobsen's fascinating article, which follows, on formative tendencies in Sumerian religion, a study in which sociology, psychology and phenomenology are beautifully blended. One wonders if a similar attempt to appreciate the effect of changing social factors on subjective attitudes might not considerably modify Mendenhall's attempt to reconstruct Israel's religious history along rather coldly objective lines.

With the possible exception of D. N. Freedman's brief and sober essay on certain puzzling problems of chronology in the Old Testament and G. van Beek's account of South Arabian archaeology (which has only remote and indirect implications for biblical study) the rest of the

volume is for the specialist. Father Moran, of the Pontifical Biblical Institute, has an excellent survey of the Northwest Semitic background of the Hebrew language, most of it, naturally, intelligible only to the Semitist. H. M. Orlinsky, in a trenchantly written discussion of the textual criticism of the Old Testament, takes the opportunity to deal telling blows at two of his favorite whipping-boys, the apparatus in the Kittel Bible and the misuse, for critical purposes, of data from the Dead Sea Scrolls. E. F. Campbell, Jr. assembles a bibliography for the study of the chronology of the ancient Near East and includes with it a synchronistic chart based upon the "low" chronology advocated by Albright. The last three articles in the volume deal, in part rather technically, with the language, literature, culture and religion of Egypt (J. A. Wilson and T. O. Lambdin) and with recent progress in Hittite and Anatolian studies (A. Goetze).

It may seem paradoxical that the two articles (aside from Albright's) which are the most valuable, in the sense that they make an original contribution to their respective subjects, are just those which the ordinary person will find almost unreadable. There is, first of all, the Editor's article on "The Archaeology of Palestine," which is concerned almost exclusively with the determination of archaeological periods and the consequent stabilization of the archaeological structure of reference by the study of stratification and ceramic techniques. The other is a very long and detailed essay by F. M. Cross, accompanied by numerous charts, on the development of the Hebrew-Aramic script from the late Persian to the Herodian age. Both these articles are based on lengthy and exhaustive study and the meticulous collation and interpretation of countless items of evidence. Though necessarily caviar to the general, they give the volume a weight and permanent value which would otherwise have been lacking.

Every article is elaborately footnoted and documented, and the whole volume exhaustively indexed. The title page is handsomely adorned with a fine portrait of Prof. Albright. Just to complete the record, it must be noted that, in this otherwise very carefully edited book, the phrase "warm argument" has evidently been misread as "warm agreement" in the middle of p. 18, and that a Hebrew word is printed upside down at the bottom of p. 122.

ROBERT C. DENTAN

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*The New English Bible: New Testament.* Oxford University Press and Cambridge University Press, 1961. pp. xiv + 447. \$4.95.

By the time this is published, every reader will have formed his own (strong) opinion of *The New English Bible*. Already lavish praise and a certain amount of scorn and disdain have been poured over it; it has been hailed as the new Authorized Version, and rejected as another failure of modernity.

Much of the criticism has been of the "silly season" type which is ever with us. The new translation is not the same as the old one, wherefor it cannot be endured; the King James (often as not, the *Saint James*) is, after all, so very *King Jamesish*. No other version can compete with it under such a standard of judgment. Or, we are given comparisons of the highest achievements of the 1611 version with the more humdrum parts of the NEB. On such a basis, Shakespeare can be made to look quite dreadful next to a few lovely lines from a minor poet.

As a matter of fact, the NEB contains some magnificent specimens of English prose, indirectly confirming the claim that literary authorities examined the version in terms of style, and made suggestions for improvement (much as the 1611 men utilized Shakespeare and Jonson, according to a 19th-century report!). Since every reader now possesses (or should possess) a copy, there is no point in quotation; but may I recommend that the following passages be *read aloud*: I Cor. 13 (and forget the King James Version as you read, lest you miss what this version offers); II Cor. 4; II Cor. 6:4-10 (this can scarcely be bettered); John 1:1-18 (the opening lines are certainly an inspired rendition); and the Matthean Beatitudes (Matt. 5:3-10). The NEB does not lack its heights. On the other hand, like every version, it has its dreary stretches also—and it will be a kindness not to list examples.

But surely the real test of a translation is not whether it is beautiful (though this may determine whether it is *used*), but whether it is a faithful rendition of the original text being interpreted. And here is the nub of the whole matter. The NEB translators have shunned the easy, 1881-Revised-Version method of translation, and taken a more difficult—and dangerous—path. Eighty years ago, the question was simply what word in English corresponded to this Greek word, and what English tense equalled this Greek tense, and so on. (This of course somewhat caricatures their practice, and yet not greatly—their version al-

most functions as a "pony" for Greek students. And they themselves acknowledged their determination to use the same English word for the same Greek word, as opposed to the 1611 practice of variety.) There was a serious scholarly task; but it was primarily a task of Greek scholarship. The "Englishing" was done so far as possible in the style of the 1611 Version. If the Greek word is *sarx*, then the English equivalent is "flesh", and that is that.

The question for us today is: Is this translation? Or is it simply Greek (and first century concepts) in English dress? Is there not a more fundamental task—the task of hermeneutics—involved, which knows that "flesh" as Paul uses it is no more meaningful to a man of today than *sarx* (or even less so since it *misleads* him, whereas he is aware of his ignorance respecting *sarx*)? That is, every translation is to some extent a commentary, the more so as there is greater divergence between the two cultures being bridged by the translation. Hence the question is not simply whether the translator knows the meaning of this *word*, or this *tense*, or even this *phrase*; rather it is also whether he knows the meaning of this argument and this *book*, this *author*.

The NEB translators have recognized this more serious task of translation, and have attempted to achieve it. For this attempt, they must be most heartily lauded. Translation is not finished until the *meaning* is conveyed across the chasm between languages and cultures. They have attempted to throw across a bridge.

Yet this is precisely where the danger lies. The more one attempts to fulfil the larger role of the translator, the more one is immersed in the task of interpretation of the underlying meaning of the author. And since agreement on the meaning of the Biblical documents is not much closer than the millennium, any translation is liable to serious and even bitter dispute.

Hence it would be mere cavil were the reviewer to list passages where he disagrees with the translation; every member of the committee which produced it no doubt was outvoted dozens or hundreds of times. What we have is the result of discussion of the possibilities among the committee members, and perhaps only a majority decision, not unanimity.

Even so, it appears to me that the theological presuppositions brought to bear on the task of interpretation-translation in the NEB are at least surprising. For example, Paul's term "flesh" is interpreted as "lower nature"—quite right in Plato, but incredible in Paul (as we now

are able to understand him, in the light of his Hebrew roots, and as a result of the massive linguistic-theological studies currently available). Such a contrast (flesh-spirit—lower nature-higher nature) might even do in John; but certainly not in Paul. The resources here are well-known to every scholar but they could not be utilized, apparently, when they ran counter to a neo-Platonic (or whatever it is) hermeneutical starting-point. And Rom. 7:15 is (wrongly) paraphrased as though the text were by Ovid, and the plain meaning of *katergazomai* is avoided, because of a pre-conception as to Paul's meaning which obscures what he actually tries to say. (The REV fails in the same way; which may only illustrate the grip of an illusion—namely, that Paul and Ovid wrestled with the same issue to the same conclusion.) The problem seems to run throughout Paul; the problem is that Paul's conceptual structures have been inadequately or traditionally or erroneously grasped by the NEB committee, with the result that their praiseworthy attempt to go beyond mere word-equivalences bogs down into mis-translation at the most fundamental level.

The problem seems much less in the gospels—perhaps because a somewhat different conceptual framework is presupposed by the gospel authors. Or perhaps other members of the committee made the first drafts. (Yet it is interesting that the finest flights of prose in the NEB appear in Paul.)

But I do not wish to exaggerate the issue. This problem has always been with us; it will simply be more obvious as translators take their task more soberly and profoundly. And perhaps the flaws which appear so plainly are mere minor blemishes. Certainly this is the most exciting translation of the Bible to appear since Moffatt's bold effort. And this reviewer is enjoying it daily, and finding it more and more usable. For public reading, it seems to have no match in English. And for private study, one would use additional translations, and perhaps a commentary in many instances, where the problems could be quite easily brought into view. It is probably too British in spots to find universal use in America (is "darnel" any less obscure than "tares?"); but perhaps an "American" version of it will appear to remedy this.

It is not the translation that ends our quest for the best; but it is a magnificent performance, and even its flaws only focus the issues of translation more sharply for the future. It is in any event indispensable.

EDWARD C. HOBBS

*The Old Testament: Its Origins and Composition.* By Curt Kuhl (Translated by C. T. M. Herriott). John Knox Press, 1961, pp. viii + 354. \$4.50.

First published in 1953 as *Die Entstehung des Alten Testaments*, this book is an introduction to the literature of the Old Testament in which the origin and composition of the various parts of the canon are discussed according to the order of the Hebrew Bible: Pentateuch, Former and Latter Prophets, and Writings. An introductory chapter treats of the authority of the Old Testament, of the history of criticism, of text and canon, and of the literary character of the Old Testament. A brief conclusion speaks of the unity and significance of the Old Testament. An appendix provides paragraph-length introductions to the books of the Apocrypha, and the book is completed by a chronological table, lists of works frequently cited in the notes and of abbreviations, an excellent bibliography, and an index.

For purposes of comparison, this is an introduction more of the size and thoroughness of the one by Oesterley and Robinson than Pfeiffer's. It is, however, strictly an introduction to the literature, not something along the lines of Anderson's *Understanding the Old Testament*. What merits its addition to the long list of works of the same type is its incorporation and discussion of recent and valuable new developments in Old Testament studies not taken into account in the standard English introductions. It is also marked by balanced and perceptive attention to religious and theological, as well as literary and historical, issues.

The author has the knack of saying a great deal that is worth-while in a brief space. The introductory chapter is a good example of this, particularly the excellent section on the literary character of the Old Testament (pp. 34-45). The same thing is true of the long footnote on pp. 54-55 (lengthy footnotes are not at all typical of the book) in which the author manages to introduce the reader to the history of and contemporary issues in Pentateuchal criticism without requiring him to turn a page. Likewise, the ten-page discussion of the nature of prophecy in ancient Israel (pp. 155-167), which precedes the treatment of the individual prophetic books, is a gem.

Author and translator alike are to be commended for the pleasant, readable, and understandable style of the book. Footnotes, although adequate, are kept to a minimum, and appear on the pages to which they refer. This is made possible by the arrangement of the bibliography in the back of the book so that its sections correspond to the various sections of the text. Whenever a book or article has to do in gen-



eral with the subject under discussion, it is simply listed in the bibliography. All this makes for a neatness and attractiveness that befit the intrinsic worth of the book.

The author appears to represent no one school of Old Testament scholarship, but to be balanced in his views. His treatment of the Pentateuch, for example, is built upon the classic documentary hypothesis, but also takes account of the results of form and tradition criticism. His discussion of the psalter is basically form critical, but conservative in that it does not espouse any rigid theory, cultic or other, of the origin of the psalms. Even on subjects where the author has himself done work (e.g. the book of Ezekiel), the treatment is fair and balanced.

All in all, this is a book that can be commended. It could serve as an introduction to the Old Testament for any reasonably intelligent reader. It could also serve as a refresher for those who wish to look anew at the Old Testament in the light of recent developments in scholarship.

HARVEY H. GUTHRIE, JR.

*Der Menschensohn in der synoptischen Überlieferung.* By Heinz Eduard Tödt. Gütersloh in Westfalen: Verlagshaus Gerd Mohn, 1959, pp. 332. DM 9.80.

*Le royaume de Dieu et sa venue. Étude sur l'espérance de Jésus et de l'apôtre Paul* (Nouvelle édition, revue et augmentée). By Jean Héring. Neuchâtel: Delachaux et Niestlé, 1959, pp. 292. Swiss francs 12.50.

Readers of the Gospels know, and are sometimes puzzled by the fact, that the titles "son of God" and "Son of Man" are applied—apparently indiscriminately—to Jesus. If they lack acquaintance with biblical terminology, they will feel inclined to accept "the explanation" which is often offered for the alternating use of the two terms, namely, that the variable usage expresses the dual nature of the Christ, "son of God" indicating his *divine*, and "Son of Man" his *human* nature. It is, of course, desultory and inadmissible to attempt clarifying religious concepts, and the terms by which these are expressed, that were current in the first century in Jewish Palestine by resorting to the aid of a theology which is of later date and was defined in the Byzantine Empire in the sixth century. Paradoxically, the expression "son of God", when used in the singular, *never* denotes in the Bible (Old Testament or the Gospels) a supernatural or celestial being, but is always used of human persons of outstanding quality either in virtue of their character (e.g. "the just") or their social standing (e.g. the king). Only



if the words "of God" are omitted and the term assumes the absolute form "the Son" (as for instance in Mark xiii 32 and parallels), it denotes the celestial or supernatural character of the person to whom it applies. On the other hand the expression "Son of Man", in the singular, *does* denote—in the New Testament and contemporary Jewish literature—a supernatural figure of apocalyptic expectation.

It is today more or less commonly held among New Testament scholars '.... Jesus used the expression "Son of Man" in his preaching. However, it is much disputed in what sense he used it, and whether or not this term, in Jesus' mouth, presents a self-designation (*i.e.* whether the historical Jesus ascribed to himself those qualities and characteristics which the people whom he addressed were wont to associate with the "Son of Man"). We owe to Rudolf Bultmann and his pupils the recognition that there are in the synoptic Gospels three quite distinct types of Son-of-Man-sayings, bespeaking three different stages of tradition: in one group of sayings Jesus speaks of the Son of Man whose coming he expects, making it clear that in these passages Jesus is not speaking of himself; in another group of sayings Jesus refers to the Son of Man in a sense of his being present already on the earth; in the third group Jesus is made to refer to the suffering and subsequent resurrection of the Son of Man. An example of a saying from the first group may be found in Mark viii 38; from the second group, in Mark ii 10; from the third, in Mark ix 31 (for more extensive and more concise information, Rudolf Bultmann's *Geschichte der synoptischen Tradition*, Göttingen, 4. Aufl., 1958, pp. 130, 134, 145-46, 163, 171 etc., and the same author's *Theologie des Neuen Testaments*, Tübingen, 3. Aufl., 1958, p. 30 etc. should be consulted).

In the book under review Heinz Eduard Tödt deals with an examination of *every single instance* of the occurrence in the synoptic Gospels of *any of the three* above mentioned types of sayings, and he investigates their mutual relation. The author commands a most thorough knowledge of the ramifications of this most difficult of all the New Testament problems. He attempts in his book to show in what given situation—either in the life of Jesus or in the life of the community of believers—a particular "Son of Man"-saying which is recorded in the synoptic Gospels had originated, what its background was, and what its purpose and theological significance is. It is impossible in this place to enter into a detailed discussion of this important book. It must

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suffice to state that even those who may not agree on every point with Tödt's exposition will profit from their perusal of his thoughtful, systematic, and comprehensive study. There exists nothing remotely comparable to Tödt's book in English or American literature on the subject.

Professor Jean Héring approaches the subject from a different position than Tödt. His interest is chiefly "biographical" and he is concerned with "the self-consciousness" of Jesus. The first edition of Héring's book on Jesus' and the Apostle Paul's thought about the Kingdom of God and its soon-to-be-expected coming was published in 1937 and has been out of print for a number of years. Readers will be grateful for the reappearance of this book in a revised and slightly enlarged form. Héring's main concern is an examination of Jesus' "messianic consciousness" though this term appears, on Héring's supposition, to be a misnomer. The author investigates the origin and significance of theological concepts such as "messiah" and "Son of Man", and comes to accept the view that Jesus himself rejected the former while accepting the latter as a convenient formula to express his religious aspirations. The results of Professor Héring's study are thus in sharp conflict with those set forth by Tödt who holds with Bultmann that Jesus spoke of the Son of Man without claiming the title for himself. The argument that the "Son of Man"-sayings of the second and third groups referred to above *must* go back to Jesus himself, because his later followers explained his significance in *messianic* terms and *not in those of the "Son of Man"-eschatology* is maintained. This view of Héring—and other writers of the older generation—has been discarded by Tödt. According to him, the equivalence of Jesus with the Son of Man had its origin in the life of the community which constituted itself after the death of Jesus, or to be more precise, within a small section of the earliest *ecclesia*, before the identification of Jesus as "messiah" (Mark viii 29) had gained general acceptance. It was *the community* which identified Jesus *successively* (and, no doubt, different groups of early Christians *simultaneously*) with "The Messiah (=son of David)", and with the Suffering Servant of the Lord (*cf.* Morna Dorothy Hooker, *Jesus and the Servant*. London 1959).

Notwithstanding the fact that Héring only occasionally—mainly in the appendices to his book—considers the views of scholars formulated and expressed during the last 30 or 35 years, the reader of *Le royaume*

*de Dieu et sa venue* will be rewarded for his effort in consulting this book. Readers will find here information on how Jewish thinkers before Jesus had tried to resolve the problem of the origin of evil, and reconcile it with the idea of an all-good and all-powerful God. They will find an exposition of Jesus' own attitude to moral and physical evil and of his preaching of the Kingdom of God in which there would be no place for evil. Jewish eschatological thinking of a messianic and of non-messianic types are illustrated and contrasted. Further sections deal with certain literary and apologetic aspects of the earliest Gospel. An almost equal part as that devoted to these subjects (pp. 11-14) deals with the thought and teaching of the Apostle Paul (pp. 147-253), his doctrine of "the two Adams", his use of the term "son of God", his soteriology and his views on the sacraments.

PAUL WINTER

*The Spiritual Gospel: The Interpretation of the Fourth Gospel in the Early Church.* By M. F. Wiles. Cambridge University Press, 1960, pp. 182. \$4.75.

Renewal of interest in the biblical exegesis of the Fathers may be among the lasting contributions of current patristic scholarship. The names of DeLubac, Daniélou, and others in French circles are associated with stress on the Patristic understanding of theology as biblical interpretation, the existence of a tradition of interpretation with its roots in the first century, and even on the relevance of this tradition for modern theology and exegesis. Other recent studies, such as those of the English scholar R.P.C. Hanson on Origen, show a recognition of the importance of patristic exegesis even where the conclusions of the French are seriously questioned. Wiles' study of patristic interpretations of the Fourth Gospel (those of Origen, Theodore of Mopsuestia, and Cyril of Alexandria) brings another English scholar into the field. It also introduces a novel method—that of surveying a variety of treatments of a single canonical book rather than of dealing with the approach of particular men to the Canon as a whole.

The result is a work which will interest biblical and patristics men alike. Brought together in early chapters are the views of the three men in question on such subjects as the authorship and purpose of St. John, its relation to the Synoptics, its historicity, "leading ideas," and other matters of interest to the modern exegete (chs. 1-5). Thereafter stages of the formation of the tradition of Johannine interpretation are

discussed (chs. 6-9). A brief but important chapter deals with the struggle to wrest the gospel from the hands of its earliest Gnostic commentators, especially as it bears on the establishment of the tradition (ch. 6). An equally interesting section deals with the classic approach to Johannine Christology as worked out in the midst of the controversies of the third and fourth centuries (ch. 7). The analysis of the Christological exegesis of Theodore and Cyril which follows is, in itself, a valuable contribution to the study of the Antiochene and later Alexandrian schools (ch. 8).

The author's real purpose in bringing this material together is as a contribution to the understanding of patristic exegesis, and the work finally issues (pp. 158-161) in an estimate of the claims of Origen, Theodore, and Cyril to be "Biblical theologians." In the end, Origen's success in bringing out the fundamental theological affirmations of St. John is contrasted favorably with Theodore's tendency to interpret the gospel narrowly within the confines of his own theology, while Cyril is seen as achieving a mature exposition of the themes of the gospel free from the flights of allegorical fancy which mar Origen's work despite its greatness.

A major criticism of the work—and the reason for this reader's puzzlement over it, despite its many excellent features—arises in connection with the way these judgments are given. Although the characteristics of the biblical theologian—"acuteness of observation" combined with "breadth of spiritual discernment which can appreciate the deep theological character of the author's thought" (p. 158)—are not spelled out in detail, they are certainly closer to those with which we are familiar today than to those current in the early church. Indeed, the limitation of men selected to the authors of commentaries, as well as the subjects on which their views are elicited (authorship and purpose, "leading ideas," etc.) suggest that something like the approach of the modern rather than the patristic interpreter is in view throughout the work. On this basis, it would seem hard to render a favorable judgment of any of the men selected. It is surely difficult to separate Origen's view of the inner meaning of the gospel from his attempt to read from its pages the basic features of his Christian Platonism, with its doctrines of eternal generation, double creation, spiritual resurrection etc., all of which are much more evident in his commentary than Wiles' treatment would suggest. Nor can it be said that the Christo-

logical issues discussed by Theodore and Cyril through their interpretations of the gospel were in fact "there" in anything like the sense that both of them thought they were. But this is not the point, or perhaps it is just the point. To approach the work of an ancient commentator in anything like the modern fashion is to fail to come to terms with what he actually thought his function was and hence to miss the significance of his work for the understanding of the Biblical interpretation of the Early Church.

To illustrate this point, the effect of limiting men treated to authors of commentaries on St. John may be noted. It excludes Irenaeus, although it is admitted that, in the period in which the tradition of interpretation took form in the midst of the attack on Gnostic views of the gospel, he was "the principal contestant on the side of orthodoxy" (p. 96). It also excludes Athanasius, although his use of the gospel is in many ways crucial for understanding the approach taken by both Theodore and Cyril to their work. Finally, it excludes the work of the Latins—the homilies of Augustine, for example—although their handling of the tradition of Johannine interpretation is an important part of the history of patristic exegesis of the gospel.

The problem here is that the patristic commentary, far from being the inherited genre of the exegete, was the product of a certain stage in the history of the exposition of the Gospel in the early church. It was the result of Origen's use of methods derived from Philo and the Gnostics in the interests of showing the true Christian teaching contained within the Scripture, and it continued to be used by those who, in one fashion or another, inherited the Alexandrian view of the theological enterprise. To restrict the field to authors of commentaries, thus to impose an unnecessary limitation on the study of patristic biblical interpretation, and in the case at hand the result is more in the nature of a study of the treatment of St. John by the Alexandrian school and its immediate successors than of representative patristic approaches to the gospel.

The use of something akin to the agenda of the modern commentator as a means of expounding the work of Origen, Theodore, and Cyril also creates difficulties. The problem here is not merely that the views of ancient interpreters regarding authorship and purpose, or even what we mean when we speak of "leading ideas," were tangential to their interpretations but that the significance such matters have for us, given

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our historical orientation, was quite beyond their comprehension. In fact, the patristic commentary was the antithesis of its modern counterpart in that it dealt with the light shed by particular Canonical books on the Gospel contained in the whole Canon, summarized in credal formulae, and eventually protected by conciliar definitions rather than with documents *qua* documents. Where this is not made clear, confusion results. In the present instance, the treatment of the views of the men in question on modern exegetical problems chiefly serves to show that these problems have lain dormant in the text from the outset. At the same time, a number of things which must be quite unintelligible from a modern standpoint, such as the rationale behind the development of a tradition of Johannine interpretation seemingly designed to gloss over Gnostic tendencies in the gospel, are left unexplained. Again, little is made of the use of St. John in what he would now regard as "theological" rather than "exegetical" works (the *De principiis* of Origen, for example), although such works shed as much light on the character of Patristic interpretation or the gospels as do the commentaries.

Wiles' work not only suggests a new approach to patristic exegesis through concentration on the treatment of particular Canonical books but also contributes much to the study of the use made of one book which was of crucial significance for the whole of patristic Christianity. Much that is said about the relation of Johannine interpretation to the theological development of the age goes to show that it is not enough merely to recognize that the Fathers identified theology with exegesis. To understand their work, we must forget what we mean by "Biblical theology" and ask how the interpretation of the Gospel was understood by those who undertook it within the confines of the Classical, Graeco-Roman world. In fact, it is just because this is not done here that the work, despite its many valuable insights, falls short of the purpose for which it is intended.

L. G. PATTERSON

*Paul and the Salvation of Mankind.* By Johannes Munck. John Knox Press, 1959, pp. 351. \$6.50.

This book, a translation from the German of *Paulus und die Heilsgeschichte* which was first published in 1954, is an important contribution to Pauline studies. It is sure to be a controversial book since the



author challenges many widely held assumptions. His main contention is that the views of F. C. Baur and the Tübingen School about the development of early Christianity have so dominated the interpretation of the Pauline epistles that most critics have misunderstood the issues with which Paul was dealing. A careful study of the epistles reveals that there was no essential disagreement between Paul and the Church in Jerusalem about the admission of Gentiles to the Church. The only issue between them was one of strategy, that is whether the Gospel should be preached first to the Jews in order that as a result of the conversion of Israel all nations might be saved (the view of the Jerusalem Church), or whether the Gospel should be preached first to the Gentiles in order that the Jews who had initially rejected Christ might be provoked to jealousy and thereby saved (Paul's view). In spite of this difference in strategy however the Church in Jerusalem, far from opposing Paul and his work, gave him its whole-hearted support.

Professor Munck arrives at this conclusion by a careful study of the Pauline epistles. He examines in great detail the accounts of Paul's conversion and call to be an apostle in Acts as well as the clues in the letters in order to determine Paul's view of his apostleship. On the basis of this study he concludes that Paul considers himself to have received "the eschatological call to the Gentiles," a mission comparable only to that of Peter's call to be the apostle to the Jews. In the light of this understanding of Paul's apostleship Munck concludes that the thing which is restraining the eschaton in II Thess. 2:6 is the preaching of the Gospel to the Gentiles and the person referred to in the following verse as "the one who restrains" is Paul himself.

After considering Paul's understanding of his apostleship Professor Munck turns to a discussion of the four major epistles, Galatians, I and II Corinthians, and Romans in order to see what they have to say about Paul's relation to the Church in Jerusalem. Here he arrives at some remarkable conclusions. The Judaizers whom Paul is combatting in Galatians are not Jewish Christians from Jerusalem but Gentile Christians who have come to believe that in order to be a true Christian one must accept circumcision and all the precepts of the Law. There are no factions in the Corinthian Church, at least none based on a conflict between Paul and Judaizers. The problem is "one of bickerings between the Corinthians" based largely on the fact that the Corinthians



have confused the preachers of the Gospel with Greek teachers of wisdom. The superlative apostles in II Corinthians are not really Paul's opponents since they do not preach a different Gospel. The only difficulty with them is that they have a different view of apostleship from Paul, one which does not involve suffering and humiliation, and so they pose a threat to the rather tenuous relationship between Paul and the Church in Corinth to which Paul has been trying to impart his understanding of the true nature of Christian apostleship. Following Manson, Munck assumes that Romans is a letter which sums up the position he had reached in his struggles with the churches in Greece and Asia Minor, a kind of progress report, and therefore tells us nothing about the composition of the Church in Rome.

In the final chapters Munck examines the nature of Jewish Christianity as revealed in Acts and other sources and comes to the conclusion that the Jewish Christians in Jerusalem were not just Jews who believed that the Messiah had come but were radically different from the Jews on major points of theology. Nor was there a radical distinction in point of view between the apostles and the Hellenists represented by Stephen. He examines in more detail the various points of view about the inclusion of the Gentiles in the Church including material from the Gospels, and he considers the "collection for the saints" in the light of Paul's relation to the Church in Jerusalem. His last chapter deals with Paul's arrest and his appeal to Caesar which Munck sees as playing an important part in Paul's unique apostleship to the Gentiles.

There is much about this book that is worthy of praise. Certainly the author is correct in his insistence that the Pauline epistles are primary sources and that where they conflict with Acts the epistles must be given the priority. Also the epistles deserve to be read as "objectively" as possible without the aid of Tübingen-colored glasses. A fresh look at the texts is always in order and Professor Munck compels us to do that. But there are aspects of his book which raise serious questions. If his interpretation of "the restrainer" in II Thessalonians is correct why does not Paul view the possibility of his death in Philippians with more concern? If Paul sees his mission in the eschatological terms that Munck suggests then his death would be the signal for the end. There is no hint of this in Philippians. In spite of Munck's arguments, it is hard to see why the Gentiles in Galatia should be insist-

ing on circumcision. Also is it not true that the suffering through which Paul has passed and which sets him apart from the "superlative apostles" has been largely the result of his position with regard to the inclusion of Gentiles, what Paul would call his gospel? And finally one has to protest Munck's arbitrary alteration of the text of Acts 21:20 where he deletes two words without any manuscript support in order to prove that the opposition to Paul in Jerusalem came not from Jewish Christians but from Jews.

Taken as a whole the book is a valuable contribution. In his effort to read the Pauline literature with Tübingen glasses the author may have been guilty at times of reading it through anti-Tübingen ones. That in no way vitiates the validity of his effort or his methodology though it means that his conclusions must be very carefully weighed.

RICHARD REID

*The Protestant Mind of the English Reformation: 1507-1640.* By Charles H. George and Katherine George. Princeton University Press, 1961, pp. 443. \$8.50.

Much research and reflection have produced this husband-and-wife study of the 70 years before the English Civil War. Part I attempts to analyze the basic structure of the English Protestant mind in this period; the term "Protestant" is used to describe that which is not Roman Catholic in Christian England. Human nature and society, as seen by the leading clerical writers and preachers of the period, are the foci of the authors' attention in this section.

Part II is a lengthy essay on the social and institutional structure of the English Protestant mind. Economic and political theory, the family and the church are studied in the light of source writings.

Part III is entitled "Protestantism and Revolution". It concludes that by and large the theological and institutional settlement in England was a *via media*; that the broad and middle way looked toward a settlement of matters through "variety in unity". Considerable effort is made here to place the Puritans, both as to the meaning of the term and their position within the Church of England. The book ends with a picture of seeming stability in the English adjustment, and this final passage:

"Why this adjustment failed so signally and so shortly is the question we leave at the end of this study to be the possible sub-

ject of another. Perhaps we have at last cleared away some of the obstacles confounding the scholar's long quest for illumination of the issues which generated revolution in England."

The most valuable contribution of this book is the rich collection of source material that has been brought together. Illuminating passages from Hooker, Whitgift, Cartwright, Donne, Perkins, Hall, Laud, Dering, Chillingworth, and a multitude of others less well-known fill the pages. The range of the authors' inquiry is broad and varied. This is no impressionistic attempt at catching the mind of a period in a few sharp strokes. The work is painfully and carefully thought out.

The main question which must be raised is this: has their attempt to find a common mind in the English Protestantism of this period been successful? Throughout the book there is the constant tension between the authors' expressed conviction that the common mind is there (more so than scholarship has generally agreed), and the evidence from their sources that English non-Roman Catholics of the period had many different points of view on many issues great and small. In fairness to the Georges, they have tried to show the differences between conservative churchmen like Hooker and Laud, Presbyterian puritans like Travers and Cartwright, and the separatists who sought to reform "without tarrying for anie"; yet their quest has been essentially for common factors that enabled church and state to hold together as they did those 70 years.

Factors making for revolution were clearly in these differences, as well as the economic and political struggle that came to a head in the 1640's. It is possible to find common thoughts in the writings of many differing men of the period, as the authors have done. Yet there is great difference in the doctrine of God held by Hooker and his followers, as compared with their scripturalist adversaries in the Puritan controversy. The battle between Whitgift and Cartwright was over the question of whether you could have a true church at all without the holy discipline of Geneva. These major theological issues are not explored in depth. As a result, the authors believe that there was general doctrinal agreement during the period, despite the institutional disagreement. Here I think is the major weakness of the book.

An important success derives from the wise choice to look at the period from many angles, and not to narrow the study to theological considerations on the one hand or economic and political ones on the

other. The Georges may be a bit hard on the clergy for not producing significant political and economic thought during the period, but here the run of the documents is with them.

RICHARD H. WILMER, JR.

*The Theology of Dietrich Bonhoeffer.* By John D. Godsey. The Westminster Press, 1960, pp. 299. \$6.00.

This book is a "first" in American scholarship. It is the first extended attempt to assess the corpus of Dietrich Bonhoeffer's writing. Heretofore, the field of writing about Bonhoeffer has been limited to articles and introductions to English translations of his primary works. The American Church owes Dr. Godsey, Assistant Professor of Systematic Theology at Drew University, a profound debt of gratitude and a generous hearing.

The story of Bonhoeffer's life is inseparable from his writing. Dr. Godsey has chosen, therefore, the best means of presenting Bonhoeffer's theology, and that is through the spectrum of events which deeply affected Bonhoeffer's movements in the world. He means to present the developing theology of the man who "challenged the church to rethink its own mission to the radically secular world of the twentieth century" (p. 17).

The author finds no difficulty accepting the traditional three-fold development of Bonhoeffer's thought. He introduces each section with a competent biographical sketch, drawing a great deal from the work of Eberhard Bethge, the life-long friend of Bonhoeffer and the editor of his posthumous publications.

Chapter I, "Theological Foundation," spans the years 1906-1931. These would be the years of formal education, training, and the publication of Bonhoeffer's first works, *Sanctorum Communio*, and *Akt und Sein*. Godsey's discussion of this formative period in Bonhoeffer's thinking is extremely valuable, especially since these two books are the only major works which remain untranslated. This is the only discussion of these early contributions of Bonhoeffer to the rising theological movement which was "struggling to overthrow the 'consciousness theology' of the nineteenth century by a fresh understanding of the 'Word of God'." (p. 26.) Karl Barth described *Sanctorum Communio* on one occasion as a "theological miracle," and the author expresses well Bonhoeffer's own position within the new theological movement.

Chapter II, "Theological Application", covers the most prolific period of Bonhoeffer's writing and speaking, 1932-1939. There is much new material introduced here concerning Bonhoeffer's participation in the Ecumenical Movement and the German Church struggle. The author has certainly caught the flavor of these crucial years in the politico-ecclesiastical history of Germany which saw Bonhoeffer more and more identified with the resistance movement. More significantly, Godsey presents a survey of Bonhoeffer's theological exposition of Scripture. During this period, Bonhoeffer turned more to exegesis, his writing became simpler and more direct, and he found himself at home in the communal way of life of the seminary at Finkenwald.

Godsey introduces each chapter with a quotation from Bethge, and the introduction for Chapter III, "Theological Fragmentation", is: "Bonhoeffer said to the world: Your theme, forsakenness, is God's own theme!" (p. 195) In the years 1940-1945, which saw his imprisonment and final execution by the Nazis, Bonhoeffer began to formulate a position which he said would "probably horrify" religious people. Godsey states that he does not believe the concepts revealed in Bonhoeffer's letters from prison, such as "the world's having come of age," the "non-religious interpretation of Biblical concepts", and the "this-worldly" character of the Christian faith represent a complete break with the past, but indeed reveal a deep unity with it. The last period is certainly the most intriguing in Bonhoeffer's life, and it is this period which most readers know best. Godsey does a creditable job in relating the development of this period to the previous work.

In a final chapter called "Theological Evaluation", Godsey states his own views in regard to the cohesion of Bonhoeffer's theology. He finds the clue in "his steadfast concentration upon the revelation of God in Jesus Christ" (p. 264), and then offers the following schema as the proper guide to the threefold development:

"During the first period his thought centered on *Jesus Christ as the revelational reality of the church*. During the second period his emphasis was upon *Jesus Christ as the Lord over the church*. In the third period Bonhoeffer concentrated his attention upon *Jesus Christ as the Lord over the world*. (p. 266.)

Dr. Godsey is an eminently fair critic and interpreter of Bonhoeffer. He does not probe so deeply behind the essential mystery of the life of his subject as to rob the reader of a desire to read Bonhoeffer him-

self. Probably his greatest contribution is to introduce the reader to an earlier Bonhoeffer about whom little is known, and to balance out the place of the man who has become better known through his death than through the life prior to it.

Finally, this book contains the only complete bibliography in English of books and articles about Bonhoeffer as well as his own. It is fairly expensive, but it will prove its worth in the long run.

JOHN FLETCHER

*Corpus Christi—The Nature of the Church according to the Reformed Tradition*, by Geddes MacGregor. Westminster. 1959, pp. 276 + bibliography and index. \$5.00.

At a time when the Blake Proposal has brought the question of Church Unity forcibly to the attention of the Episcopal Church once more, this book, along with Claude Welch's *The Reality of the Church* should be required reading for those wishing to participate intelligently in the discussion. In the decades following the Lambeth Appeal of 1920 there has been a vigorous discussion of the nature of the Church by Anglicans, notably Headlam, Gore, Temple, and, more recently Herbert, Mascall, Pittenger and Ramsey. A look at Professor MacGregor's bibliography reminds one that the discussion has been very much broader than many Anglicans realize. One finds it difficult to avoid the impression that in this area at least Anglicanism evidences an isolation not found in other areas of theological discussion. MacGregor's book is an admirable antidote to such a tendency.

Those familiar with Geddes MacGregor's writing have come to expect from him sound scholarship and genuine theological insight. Both qualities are evident in this volume. The first part of the book is devoted to an historical survey dealing with the Medieval background, Calvin's doctrine of the Church and an extended account of the discussion of the subject among the 17th Century Scottish divines. This reviewer, not being familiar with the latter literature, was struck with the amount of attention the subject received in the Church of Scotland during this period.

More significant for contemporary dialogue is the second part of the book which is systematic rather than historical. The meaning of the word *EKKLESIA* in the New Testament is examined. There follows an examination of the meaning of Baptism as a sacrament through which one is made a member of the Church through the Holy Spirit.



There is a study of the Pauline metaphor of the Church as the Body of Christ which MacGregor finds both more Biblical and more illuminating than the phrase "extension of the Incarnation". After an analysis of the Eucharist and the Episcopate in the Reformed tradition, the author sums up his position in a concluding chapter. One is struck with his emphasis on the Church as a visible corporate body in which the Word is preached and the Sacraments are duly celebrated. The Church is at once the unique instrument of God in the world and at the same time subject to all the consequences of the sin of man in a fallen world. The following quotations give some impression of the flavor of the book and MacGregor's position.

"The continuity of the Church, being a continuity of life, is essentially a spiritual actuality; yet for the same reason it must express itself visibly in history. . . (It) is especially attested in the historic continuity of the work of the corporate ministry, which, however, though it witnesses to apostolic succession cannot guarantee this. Scripture, whose divine authority is recognized by the whole Church and assured to each individual believer, *testimonio Spiritus Sancti*, provides a norm standing over and apart from the Church which, though it has the duty of expounding and interpreting it, is bound by it in such a way that it can in no circumstances claim any authority over it. The doctrines of the Holy Trinity, the Incarnation, and the Person of Christ, as expressed in the formulas of Nicaea and Chalcedon are generally accepted as normative in the interpretation of Scripture . . . because these doctrines are held to shine forth from Scripture itself." p. 227.

A high view of the importance of Scripture does not mean a low estimate of the Church. "Reverence for Scripture draws attention to the centrality of the doctrine of the Church: Scripture derives its authority from God whence also springs directly the life of the Church, organically united to Christ, its only Head." (p. 228.) "As there is but one Christ, so there is but one Church. There is no other place whither one can go to find the life He alone can and does impart directly from the Source of all life." So likewise Christ is the ground of unity in the Church. "Man may discover, yet he cannot create that unity." (p. 233) A united Church would manifest diversity of organization and of liturgical forms as it did in the Patristic period. The Eucharist is "the core of Christian worship and the heart of the Church" and it is here that "the melancholy impoverishment of the contemporary visible expression of the Church's life is most seriously evident." (p. 241)



Professor MacGregor has given us a sound and valuable contribution to the continuing discussion of the nature of the Church. One hopes that his book will win the wide reading that it deserves.

ROBERT J. PAGE

*Freedom and Immortality* by Ian T. Ramsey. S. C. M. Press, 1960, pp. 152. 18s.

In Britain there is a long tradition of dialogue between philosophers and theologians, nourished by such institutions as the Gifford Lectures. With the decay of British Idealism and the rise of Logical Positivism during the thirties, together with the growing interest among theologians in Neo-Reformation theology, this dialogue seemed largely at an end in the years just before and after the last war. Those who worked at the "language game" were sceptical about any meaning that might be conveyed by theological and metaphysical statements. The influence of Barth and the renewed interest in a Biblical theology made theologians less inclined to enter into discussion with their philosophical colleagues. Each group tended to go its separate ways, largely ignoring the other. In the past few years there are signs that this mutual isolation has begun to break up. There has been a growing interest in applying the tools of linguistic analysis to the distinctive language of religion. *New Essays in Philosophical Theology* edited by Flew and MacIntyre, together with Ronald Hepburn's *Theology and Paradox* and T. A. Roberts' *History and Christian Apologetics* which subject theological statements to a logical and linguistic analysis, are illustrations of the type of discussion which is taking place. In his latest book, *Freedom and Immortality*, Ian T. Ramsey has made an interesting contribution to the discussion.

Ramsey is aware of the scepticism which is likely to greet any metaphysical or theological statement. He wishes to take seriously the technique and approach of what he calls contemporary empiricism. What he attempts, therefore, is "to show that these two topics of freedom and immortality are properly united because each makes a similar sort of claim about the universe; because each appeals to a similar kind of situation, a situation not restricted by the observables of sense experience". Ramsey believes "that the kind of situation which justifies belief in freedom and immortality is the kind of situation to which we must appeal if we seek an empirical justification for the language of metaphysics and philosophical theology in general." (pp. 111f.) Such

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disclosure situations Ramsey finds in instances where a person transcends his public behaviour, acting decisively as a person in response to a challenge which is expressed in that which is observable while at the same time transcending the observable. The book is tightly reasoned and does not lend itself to a summary briefer than the one the author himself provides in his concluding chapter. Part of its appeal lies in the well chosen and frequently amusing illustrations which Ramsey uses to ground his argument in experience and to evoke a grasp of what freedom and immortality mean. In the course of the discussion he is able to throw light on a number of traditional problems such as Duty or God's will, human freedom or Divine omnipotence, and Universalism.

The book is an essay in Philosophical Theology, requiring close attention and careful reading. Those with a serious interest in the philosophical problems discussed will find it rewarding. This reviewer is inclined to feel that the discussion of freedom is more significant than the one on immortality, which the author is careful to distinguish from the Christian doctrine of the Resurrection of the Body.

ROBERT J. PAGE

## NOTES ON NEW BOOKS

*Imago Dei.* Genesis 1, 26 f. im Spätjudentum, in der Gnosis und in den paulinischen Briefen (Forschungen zur Religion und Literatur des Alten und Neuen Testaments; Neue Folge, Heft 58). By Jacob Jervell. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1960: pp. 379.

A young Norwegian scholar of Finnish extraction, Jacob Jervell presents in this bulky volume an examination of the manner in which Gen I: 26, 27 was interpreted in Palestinian pre-rabbinical Judaism, in hellenistic Judaism (that is, Philo), in rabbinic writings, in gnostic

speculations, and of the significance which this Genesis passage has in Pauline anthropology. The book is evidence of the author's wide reading, considerable learning and originality of thought.

More than half the contents (pp. 171-336) of this book are devoted to the examination of the Apostle Paul's teachings. It is thus in the first place scholars concerned with the study of Pauline Epistles who will find the perusal of Jervell's book rewarding. In comparison with the section "Gen 1, 26 f. in den paulinischen Briefen", the preceding sec-

tions on the interpretation of the biblical passage by Jewish authors, both pre-Christian and post-Christian, and especially in various gnostic systems, are rather meager. Occasionally Jervell expresses views not entirely concordant with those of his academic teacher, Professor Nils Alstrup Dahl (of Oslo University). The book was written before the publication of Friedrich-Wilhelm Eltester's "Eikon im Neuen Testament" (Beiheft 23 zur *Zeitschrift für die neutestamentliche Wissenschaft*; Berlin 1958) whose demonstration—differing from that given by Jervell—may be read as a useful counterfoil.

When printing the book, the compositor disposed of the Hebrew final *mem*, but curiously enough he used the final *nun*.

P. W.

*Pauline Mysticism.* By Alfred Wikenhauser. Herder & Herder, 1960, pp. 256. \$4.50.

This is a translation of *Die Christusmystik des Apostels Paulus* (Freiburg, 1956). The author is well-known for his recently translated *New Testament Introduction*, and is one of the leading European Roman Catholic Biblical scholars who are bringing Roman New Testament scholarship into the mainstream of contemporary discussion. The present work is directed against two fronts—against the History of Religions school, which discovered in Paul a mysticism of the pagan type, and against the dialectical school which denies to Paul any kind of mysticism whatever. Of course, it all depends on what you mean by mysticism, and by Christ-mysticism Wikenhauser means something very different from what is usually associated with that word. It is a union with Christ which is not absorption, but which preserves the I-Thou relationship, objective and not subjective, ethical and not quietist, not for the élite

only, but for all believers, established by baptism, permanent and not dependent on moments of high exaltation. But this is mysticism, for Christ and his grace do work effectively in the soul of the believer, and do not consist in a merely external *Zuspruch*. Unhappy though we may be at the definition, the positive exposition of the appropriation of Christ's redeeming work commands assent and appreciation.

The translation is competent, but since there are so many quotations from German Lutheran authors the (Irish) translator should have familiarized himself with Protestant English—it is odd to hear Lutherans talking about the 'justice' rather than the 'righteousness' (*Gerechtigkeit*) of God.

R. H. F.

*Index to Periodical Literature on the Apostle Paul.* Compiled under the direction of Bruce M. Metzger. Wm. B. Eerdmans Publishing Company, 1951 [i.e. 1961] Copyright 1960.

This volume is a forceful testimony to the continuing interest in the Apostle Paul and to the wealth of material for study and speculation in his epistles. Prof. Metzger and twenty of his graduate students have examined 114 periodicals, each in its entire period of publication to the end of 1957. Some are more than one hundred years old. They have located and listed 2987 articles, exclusive of those of purely homiletic nature, in fourteen languages. These articles have been arranged under six major headings as follows: (1) Bibliographical articles on Paul, nos. 1-41; (2) Historical studies on the life of Paul, nos. 42-431; (3) Critical studies of the Pauline literature, nos. 432-2326; (4) Pauline Apocrypha, nos. 2327-2360; (5) Theological studies, nos. 2361-2933; and (6) History of the interpretation of Paul and his work. Each of these sections is closely classified under sub-

topics and within these smaller groupings the articles are arranged by date of publication, with the exceptions of those devoted to and arranged by Greek words discussed or by scriptural passages studied. The copyright holder is E. J. Brill of Leiden and the book is put up in one of the generous and highly readable formats employed by this publisher.

The entry for each article is a simple bibliographical description without annotation. Consequently, what is offered is a list of articles, classified and arranged chronologically. This is a very useful tool for the librarian or instructor who must assist students in obtaining literature on Paul. However, a periodical index is only a key to articles. It makes possible location of the materials indexed. The greatest shortcoming of indexes is the absence of annotation and of evaluative characteristics. In such an index as this suggestive evaluative features do exist: the repute and character of the magazines indexed, in this case a good list; subject content as indicated in the titles and in the indexer's classification; the names and known interests and capabilities of the authors cited; and, in this index again, the chronological arrangement, which at least dates the articles. The utility of the index in leading to information of value is quickly evident in cases where the user can go directly to the files of the periodicals indexed and there see and study the material described. However, in the case of less accessible periodicals, the absence of annotations and evaluative features is a serious shortcoming. Articles can be had by microfilm, to be sure, but this is a slow and costly process, as any librarian who must procure many such materials must learn, especially if his cost accounting is well managed. Also, there is a real element of gamble, seemingly useful articles sometimes proving to be of no value after they have been procured.

The absence of a real evaluative feature is thus the major shortcoming of this work. Further, even by the end of 1957, *New Testament Abstracts* had commenced providing abstracts of articles on Paul as well as on other New Testament themes. This valuable service is not noted in Metzger's work.

It is good to have Prof. Metzger's index at hand. It is hoped that other important New Testament themes will be similarly indexed and that the reception given this work will encourage such publication. Even more, it is to be hoped that the seminary world will insist upon the continuation of the American Theological Library Association's *Index of Religious Periodical Literature*. This indexes all theological topics as they are represented in the major periodicals on an annual and a triennial basis.

N. H. S.

*Jesus*. By Martin Dibelius. 3te Auflage mit einem Nachtrag von Werner G. Kümmel. "Sammlung Göschen Band 1130." Berlin: Walter deGruyter & Co., 1960. pp. 140. DM 3.60.

Despite the renewed vigor of the quest of the historical Jesus, this third edition of Dibelius' classic is still in every respect the same book as that published over twenty years ago. Kümmel, Bultmann's successor at Marburg and devoted pupil of Dibelius, has only purged the second edition of minor typographical errors, added two appendixes, and brought the bibliography up to date. Out of ten pages of appendix, one is devoted to the Coptic "Gospel of Thomas," and the remainder deals with the Qumrân materials; the appendix reflects Dibelius' judicious mind mirrored through his faithful student and disciple. The bibliography takes advantage of recently published studies up to last year. It includes German translations of works by C. K. Bar-

rett, F. F. Bruce, J. M. Allegro, Millar Burrows, and W. Manson. Reference is also made to four articles in the third edition of *R. G. G.*, each of which is itself a fine source of bibliography.

J. L. M.

*Kerygma und historischer Jesus.* By James M. Robinson. Zurich: Zwingli-Verlag, pp. 192. Fr. s. 17.80.

This is a second, revised edition (German) of the original English edition entitled *A New Quest of the Historical Jesus* (Studies in Biblical Theology, No. 25)<sup>6</sup> Alec R. Allenson, Inc. 1959. [Rev. R. H. Fuller A. T. R. 41 (1959) 232 ff.].

The section of the study dealing with methodology has been significantly expanded with references to more recent publications and a fuller exposition within the text itself. The publication of this work by an American scholar in what is admittedly *die Muttersprache der Leben-Jesus-Forschung* is but another sign of the exciting era which has opened in New Testament studies.

J. S. R.

*Gospel and Myth in the Thought of Rudolf Bultmann.* By Giovanni Miegge. Translated by Bishop Stephen Neill. John Knox Press, 1960, pp. viii + 152. \$4.00.

The French translation of Dr. Miegge's study was reviewed in this journal recently (ATR, Vol. xli, p. 155). Bishop Neill's English rendering is a major accomplishment since it is so completely readable; this result is the fruit of close cooperation between author and translator. Now that it is available in English, British and American students can consult a Romanic view of the "demythologizing debate" other than Roman Catholic. The Waldensian professor is a careful critic, as we have learned from his other works now translated, and we are all in Bishop Neill's debt for

bringing his voice into earshot in this vital discussion.

J. L. M.

*The Church Faces the World: Late New Testament Writings.* By J. Christian Beker. Westminster Press, 1961, pp. 96. \$1.50.

This is the final volume in a series of nine brief guides to the Bible, "addressed (as the publishers state) to educated laymen." An opening chapter, *The Word and the World*, describes the Roman empire from Nero to the Antonines, and the concerns of the church as it "separated itself from Judaism". The post-apostolic age is here presented as a period of embryonic creedmaking, of consolidation and adaptation manifested in liturgy, doctrine and ethics, as well as in the development of Christian institutions. Doubtless all these steps would have been taken in some form, as the church adjusted itself to life in a world which did not—in fulfillment of primitive eschatological expectations—pass away. That they had to be taken in the face of dangers both from within and from without had much to do with the concerns of these late New Testament writings. Thus, while Dr. Beker characterizes the Pastoral Epistles as "advice for ministers" and James as "a manual for the laity" Hebrews is said to deal with "the danger of backsliding", I Peter and Revelation with "the call to pilgrimage" and "the risk of allegiance" respectively. The five remaining Catholic Epistles—I, II, III John, II Peter and Jude—are treated under the broad heading "the threat of heresy".

To interpret with brevity and clarity the New Testament deposit of the church in the postapostolic age—without benefit of supplemental cross-references to the non-canonical literature of that period, the Apostolic Fathers, mentioned only in passing—is admittedly a difficult assignment. One cause of difficulty noted by

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Dr. Beker arises from the tendency of anti-heretical polemic to replace debate with abuse, so that it is almost impossible to determine the precise character of the false doctrines which are combatted. Although the discussion of Gnosticism is very well done, it is not apparent whether the author's omission of specific reference to Marcion stems from a willingness to lump the Pontic reformer under that often all-embracing category, or simply from a decision that none of the writings in question were directed against him. It is refreshing to find, in a work designed for laymen, such frank treatment of the ancient practice of pseudepigraphy in the case of the Pastorals and II Peter. Since I Peter is placed against the background of the Pliny-Trajan correspondence, it is rather surprising that Revelation, under Domitian, should be discussed after rather than before this epistle. Is it not probable that the writer of I Peter 5:13 relied on the familiarity of many of his Asiatic readers with Revelation 17 for an understanding of his otherwise cryptic reference to "Babylon"?

O. J. F. S.

*Newly Discovered Gnostic Writings.* By W. C. van Unnik. Naperville, Ill.: Alec R. Allenson, 1960, pp. 96. \$1.75.

This is the best brief introduction to the Gnostic documents from Nag Hammadi which are now creating a stir among New Testament scholars. The first half of van Unnik's book gives a general orientation to the finds and to the nature of Gnosticism; the second gives an excellent analysis of the four most important works available when he wrote (1958; to them should now be added the Gospel of Philip). These documents are the Gospel of Thomas, the Gospel of Truth, the Apocryphon of John, and the Apocryphon of James. Van Unnik's interpretations are both sensible and conservative; they show that while these writings certainly de-

serve attention, they are likely to revolutionize New Testament study only in so far as students lay emphasis on the differences between Christian and Gnostic books and ideas.

R. M. G.

*The Theology of the Gospel According to Thomas.* By Bertil Gärtner. Harper and Brothers, 1961, pp. 286. \$5.00.

The most important find among the Coptic Gnostic papyri from Nag-Hammadi has been (and probably will remain) the Gospel of Thomas, a collection of 112/114 "secret words spoken by the living Jesus." Many of these sayings have parallels in the canonical gospels, especially the synoptics, and some scholars have claimed that in Thomas they can detect stages in the oral tradition which are at least as early as those reflected in the canonical books.

Gärtner, on the other hand, argues that the Gospel of Thomas (1) uses the method common in the second century of combining material taken from different canonical gospels, and (2) reflects the concerns, and the theology, of second-century Gnosticism. It is certainly correct to say that Gnostic ideas are constantly reflected, but at some points, in the reviewer's opinion, more emphasis could be laid on the specific relation between Thomas and the Naassenes—who, according to Hippolytus's account of them, made use of something very close to this gospel (see *The Secret Sayings of Jesus*; also W. R. Schoedel in *Figliae Christianae*, 1960).

His book deals first with the literary character of the book (he notes that "Lukan material" predominates—not surprisingly, since the Naassenes were fond of the saying, "The kingdom of God is within you") and, second, with its theological outlook: the nature of Jesus the world and man in the world, the nature of man, the kingdom, the negative atti-



tude to the world, and seeking and rest. Altogether this is an excellent analysis of Thomas, and it will prove highly useful to those who wish not only to read the mysterious sayings but also to understand what they mean

R. M. G.

*Patrology*, Vol. III. *The Golden Age of Greek Patristic Literature*. By Johannes Quasten. Spectrum Publishers—The Newman Press, 1960. pp. xxv + 606. \$6.75.

When the history of the Church in the 20th century comes to be written, one feature which will surely be significant will be the patristic revival which has been growing in importance, especially since about 1940. Gradually the clichés about the bad Fathers as contrasted with the good biblical writers are being abandoned, and students are recognizing that theology is not exclusively a mediaeval or a modern achievement. Among the most valuable contributions to this revival are the volumes in Professor Quasten's *Patrology*. The first two were excellent; the third is no less than magnificent. It deals with both major and minor writings of the period between Nicaea and Chalcedon, providing full discussions of the literature (including modern studies to 1958) and of the theology reflected in it. The work is arranged in relation to the areas from which the literature comes; thus the first chapter contains "the writers of Alexandria and Egypt," the second, "the founders of Egyptian monasticism," the third, "the writers of Asia Minor," and the fourth, "the writers of Antioch and Syria."

In a patrology one might have expected to find the full documentation which makes such a work indispensable for the student. In addition, however, one finds a clear, unprejudiced, and learned study of each of the writers involved. Quasten's *Patrology* is not simply a reference work; it is written to be read, not only by the

student of literature but also by the theologian.

No one in any way concerned with the Fathers of the Church can afford to miss this volume—or, indeed, the whole work. It is the best patrology in existence, one of which not only Roman Catholics and Americans but all Christians can be proud.

R. M. G.

*A Guide to the Teachings of the Early Church Fathers*. By Robert R. Williams. Wm. B. Eerdmans Publishing Company, 1960, pp. 224. \$4.00.

Guide, summary, introduction—Dr. Williams has produced an admirable sketch of the ideas of the Greek and Latin Fathers from Clement and Ignatius through the Council of Chalcedon—on the level of intelligent popularization something between a *Patrology* and a *History of Dogma*. After chapters on the Apostolic Fathers and "The Faith and its Defenders" (Apologists), the arrangement is topical, under catchy but justified titles—"The Faith and Fantasy," "Fact," "Fusion," "Fellowship," "Freedom," "Fetters," and "Formula." The last three refer to the doctrine of grace, church-state relations, and the development of Creeds, which illustrate the way these phrases are used. Williams' bright and cheerful approach should encourage readers to look further into the works to whose value he calls attention (I hope in more attractive editions than the Eerdmans reprints of the *Ante-Nicene* and *Post-Nicene Fathers*, from which he takes his quotations, but that is another story). His main interest is in the process of definition by which the Church distinguished its faith from the confusions of Gnosticism and the onesidedness of heresies, and developed its standards of life and order. Now and again he neatly illustrates some ancient idea by the apt quotation of a modern hymn. His own

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point of view is that of Protestant orthodoxy; he is thus reasonably sympathetic with the general line of ancient dogmatic development, but less so with the ecclesiological and sacramental aspects of early Christian thought. He is, for instance, anxious to find in the Fathers the doctrine of the invisible Church, which leads him I believe to a serious misinterpretation of St. Augustine's teaching on the Church and the Kingdom (p. 157). There are occasional slips, from which no writer in so complex a field is free. But he well achieves his main purpose of opening doors through which his readers may be encouraged to enter into the fascinating world of ancient Christian literature.

E. R. H.

*The Quest for the Holy Grail: A Literary Study of a Thirteenth-Century French Romance.* By Frederick W. Locke. Stanford University Press, 1960, pp. 126. \$3.50.

Mr. Locke approaches *La Queste del Saint Graal* not as a theological tractate or philological puzzle but as "a poem, a fiction, something constructed for the delight of the reader," to which modern critical methods may be profitably applied. Starting from the Jungian premise of the struggle between the cultural and the archetypal canons, he suggests that the Grail image arose out of the conflict between scholasticism and a more traditional, imaginative mode of thought nourished on the Chartrian type of *artes liberales* and on the basically Scriptural theology of the Fathers. Over against the scholastic "straight jacket," was held up the eternal archetypal image of the legend, according to Mr. Locke, and not the Grail, which is primarily a symbolic image reflecting the Quest motive and not to be identified exclusively with any one of many possible other interpretations without losing its poetic life.

In this light, *La Queste del Saint Graal* appears to Mr. Locke as a unified literary structure patterned on the Holy Scriptures and on the Liturgy but by no means a simple allegory, "dark conceit" or imitation. As Mr. Locke's elucidation of the relations between the romance and its Scriptural and liturgical sources amply demonstrates, one has to do here with "a literary microcosm reflecting a typological macrocosm." Its author's mythopoetic genius transmutes Scripture imaginatively and creates "from its images new images to support his new world."

This refreshing study should interest specialists and lay readers alike. It has value not only as a structural and thematic analysis but also as a source of insight into the cultural and theological meaning of the Quest theme and the Grail symbol, one of the most sublime creations of the Christian literary mind.

P. D. W.

*Sixty Years at Westminster Abbey.* By Jocelyn Perkins. James Clarke & Co., 1960, pp. 173. 18s. 6d.

This amazing little book is the compound of personal reminiscences, artistic and liturgical pronouncements, chronicle of events, and sketches of people great and small who came within his orbit during the sixty years Jocelyn Perkins served as Sacrist and Minor Canon at Westminster Abbey.

The circumstances of the writing of the book certainly should excuse a somewhat chaotic outline; Canon Jocelyn wrote most of it while in the air raid shelters during World War II. It constitutes a story of devotion to duty in small things which can become important if neglected or done without knowledge or taste. Students of liturgical ornamentation should find it valuable for its record of the gradual modification of the ornaments of the Abbey to the standards of the "English

Use," historians will appreciate the intimate glimpses into the relationships engendered by association with the Abbey, and the ordinary reader will enjoy the story of day to day life about the great church which the author gives us. There is a certain light touch in the writing that gives a pleasant impression of the venerable author. The book is recommended for light reading for all interested in the life of the English Church.

L. L. B.

*The Christian Knowledge Society and the Revival of the Episcopal Church in New Jersey.* By Walter Herbert Stowe. Church Historical Society, 1960, pp. 40. \$ .50.

Canon Stowe's dedication to the study and communication of the history of the Episcopal Church needs neither mention nor praise in a brief review of his latest production; the thoroughness of his work is an adequate index of his contribution. Originally published as an article in the *Historical Magazine of the Protestant Episcopal Church* (March 1960, pp. 11-47), this monograph dealing with a significant chapter in the life of the Church on the Atlantic seaboard has been enhanced by the addition of three illustrations. One reproduces the portrait of Bishop Croes, first bishop of New Jersey; another shows a printed copy of the Society's original constitution, while the third illustrates the manuscript of the first minutes of the Society. The monograph is no. 49 of the *Church Historical Society Publications*.

J. L. M.

*Victor and Victim.* By J. S. Whale. Cambridge University Press, pp. 167. \$3.75.

As always Dr. Whale writes lucidly and well, a virtue in theologians which is in these days insufficiently prized and sought after. This discussion of the doc-

trine of redemption seems to the present reviewer one of the very best of his books, perhaps indeed the very best. He is perhaps a little too much influenced by Aulén in places for the taste of some readers, but his discussion of the role of the devil in the Bible and in Christian existence is quite excellent and his handling of the concept of the resurrection of the body beyond praise. So too is the really excellent chapter entitled "Christ: Our Sacrificial Victim." The chapter dealing with Baptism and the Eucharist is a welcome sign of the way in which the separated Christian traditions, as represented by their best minds, are more and more evidently converging. "The supreme importance of the sacraments lies in their contemporaneity. In the Eucharist, the church is neither *simply* recalling a Last Supper in an upper room long ago, nor *simply* waiting expectantly for the banquet of the redeemed in the eternal kingdom at history's 'end': it is experiencing *now* the *geminus adventus Christi*; His coming in humiliation and His coming in glory."

One could wish, however, that in the paragraph following this quotation he would refrain from referring to what he calls "the clumsy machinery of the intellect." Clumsy it may be, but it remains nevertheless not merely the best, but in the last resort the only, machinery we have. There is too much anti-intellectualism in the modern world, both flippant and prosaic, for a fine, lucid intellectual like Dr. Whale to ape its inept and insipid performances.

J. V. L. C.

*Wesley's Christology, An Interpretation.* By John Deschner. Southern Methodist University Press, 1960, pp. 211. \$4.50.

This book covers a much wider field than its title suggests, and includes dis-

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cussions of creation, law, providence, eschatology and atonement. It smacks somewhat of the doctoral dissertation (which it is) and those who find Wesley's theological ventures interesting (which, in my opinion, they aren't) will doubtless value this contribution to what is so unfortunately called 'Wesley study'. (Thank God we don't have 'Cranmer study' or 'Hooker study').

Dr. Deschner's avowed intention is "to show that Wesley's Christology really is the presupposition, not the appendix, to his theology, and that Wesley wants to learn the content of holiness from Jesus Christ" (p. 38). In the general sense that Wesley's mature thought was consistently developed from his initial experience in which "I felt I did trust in Christ, Christ alone for salvation" (p. 196) the point is well made. But I am not persuaded that Dr. Deschner makes his case if by 'Christology' is meant the theological understanding of the *person* of Christ as distinct from the *work* of Christ.

Dr. Deschner makes it clear that perhaps the one original theological contribution of Wesley was his doctrine of justification, which differed from that of the classical Reformers and was intended to undercut what he felt to be the antinomian tendencies of the Calvinist form of the doctrine. It appeared to Wesley that an emphasis upon the positive fulfilment of God's righteousness by Christ was liable to encourage the believer to think that his own righteousness was of little importance, and to belittle the need of actual sanctification. He therefore stressed the passive obedience of Christ in suffering God's wrath, and this, together with the change of heart and intention in faith, is the ground of the believer's justification. But in rejecting the "vain imagination of being *holy in Christ*" (p. 155, Wesley's italics) he minimized both the

humanity of Christ and the theology of the Church as the Body of Christ in which "we participate in Christ's active as well as passive righteousness through the Holy Spirit" (p. 183).

All of which only goes to show that the distinctive contribution Methodism can best make to the 'Coming Great Church' is neither in the realm of doctrine nor of order. For the author rightly points out that the practical and effective answer Wesley gave to antinomianism was to be found in the fellowship and inspiration of the societies which, whatever their founder lacked of orthodoxy or authority, *lived* like the Body of Christ in a way the Church of England of his day notably failed to do.

R. F. H.

*The Forgiveness of Sins.* By William Telfer. Muhlenberg Press, 1960, pp. 154. \$2.75.

This is a small book which contains, on the whole, a fine summary of the historical development of penance from New Testament times through the Reformers and Hooker.

Describing the eschatological context in which the forgiveness of sins was first received, Professor Telfer shows how the experience of the early Church led it to qualify and attenuate its first rigorism. The roles of the early Fathers are clearly portrayed and most of the chapters end with good summaries of the movement they have described.

Professor Telfer finds that the private details into which public *exomologesis* or confession is said to have gone is frequently exaggerated. The origin of private penance and the development of the concept of *satisfactio* is traced. The pivotal victory of Augustinianism for the Western Church and Luther's theology are extremely well described. Anglicanism is handled principally in the person of

Hooker, but references to specific points within Book VI of the *Polity*—which would greatly help the reader—are lacking.

After many marks of a good, strong historical survey, the Epilogue, especially its last three paragraphs, is extremely disappointing. The work of the Reformers is unduly singled out for praise while Catholic contributions are minimized. We are told that only "most" Christians find it necessary, in their abhorrence of sin, to contemplate their actual sins at any particular time. For those who find this necessary, Catholic thought has shown a pattern for action. The at least tacit application of an adequate doctrine of man in this final summary would have given a better balanced doctrine of forgiveness "that is at once Catholic and Reformed."

A. A. V.

*Agents of Reconciliation.* By Arnold B. Come. Westminster Press, 1960, pp. 176. \$3.75.

"The Church exists for the world. . . . The church will know its own spirit, its own meaning and purpose, only as it knows the world. How, then is it to know the world? Even as God in Christ knew the world." In this brief passage (page 19) Dr. Arnold B. Come, professor of Systematic Theology at the San Francisco Theological Seminary, gives the theme of what is a very exciting and thought-stimulating little book.

Dr. Come writes from two profound awarenesses—in feeling as well as in the mind. The first is his appreciation of that sense of alienation—from the self, from other people and from God—that has become such a dominant strain in so much modern literature and art. The second is his thorough New Testament scholarship understood as showing how

the Word of God really speaks dynamically to the modern world.

Dr. Come's main thesis is that the Church's *diakonia* (with *diakonos* translated as agent—he rightly says minister is an adequate translation when used in the diplomatic sense but not in the traditional ecclesiastical) is two-fold. A ministry of conversion and maturation directed internally and a ministry of witness directed externally not so much in the search for new members as to enable individuals and society to find reconciling power in the course of dealing with the actual historical decisions that confront them.

The jacket of this book tells of Dr. Come's daring proposal to abolish the distinction between clergy and laity. He does indeed make this proposal in the course of the book, and it becomes one, but only one, of the themes. This volume, however, is not intended to be startling but to be a genuine contribution to Biblical Theology as this is related to the Church's contemporary mission. Perhaps the jacket blurb will help some people to read the book, but it will hinder others; but the idea, as Dr. Come develops it, is not a new proposal in the field of polity but rather a probing of the meaning of Christian responsibility.

The only criticism this reviewer would make of what he believes to be a very valuable book, and one which he hopes will be widely read, is that he wishes the author had given more care to his paragraph and chapter structure.

C. D. K.

*A Handbook of the Liturgy.* By Rudolf Peil. Translated by H. E. Winstone. New York: Herder and Herder, 1960, pp. xv + 317. \$5.95.

This work is a teacher's manual for use in Roman Catholic schools, and attempts to implement the understanding

of the history and meaning of the Latin rite from the insights of the modern Liturgical Movement. The treatment is uneven in quality—there are considerable remnants of medieval allegorical interpretations. The running commentary on the propers of the Christian Year are perhaps its most illuminating section. Anglicans will perhaps be most interested in the similarity of the author's approach to Confirmation and Unction with that of their own tradition. The pedagogical methods suggested in each chapter will probably not commend themselves to those who are persuaded by the technique of the "Seabury Series." The book is a good one, but will have limited appeal for non-Roman Catholics.

M. H. S. JR.

*The Coming Reformation.* By Geddes MacGregor. The Westminster Press, 1960, pp. 160. \$3.50.

The Reformed (and reforming) Dr. MacGregor already has put us in his debt by his studies of the Scottish tradition. In this book he examines modern church life, applying the ideals of the Reformation to the actualities of the modern scene.

Specifically, he applies the surgeon's scalpel to the areas of Church discipline, the interior life, and the worship of the Body of Christ. He concludes with a proposed Liturgy in the Reformed tradition.

The book is provocative and lively, relevant to, and capable of being comprehended by, "all sorts and conditions of men."

S. M. S.

*Modern Catholic Thinkers: An Anthology.* Edited by A. Robert Caponieri. Harper & Brothers, 1960, pp. 636. \$15.00.

This collection of essays is offered to the reader, so its editor states, as a resolution of the problem of liberty and creed within the Roman Catholic Church. This

resolution is to be accomplished *per modum ambulandi* rather than by an abstract treatise on the nature of authority and freedom. Martin D'Arcy makes this point in his introduction to the book by saying that these essays have been brought together so that readers can see for themselves whether or not admittedly Catholic writers are out of date or blindly conformist in their thought.

The book itself consists of some 38 articles grouped under the major headings of: God, Man, the Church, the Political Order, History, Religion and Culture, and Witness. The book jacket lists all of the contributing authors and once one begins on the list it is hard to stop without mentioning everyone. Such men are included as Hans von Balthasar, Martin D'Arcy, Louis Lavelle, René Le Senne, Gabriel Marcel, Joseph Nuttin, Pierre Teilard de Chardin, Henri de Lubac, Yves Congar, Joseph Jungmann, Jacques Maritain, Yves Simon, Jean Daniélou, Christopher Dawson, Etienne Gilson, Régis Jolivet, Joseph Pieper, Maurice Picard, and Louis Bouyer.

Of the essays included only three are from previously unpublished manuscripts. Two essays have been especially rearranged or corrected by their authors for this printing, while all the rest appear as previously published. Some essays, however, have been translated into English for the first time as they appear in this edition.

Being an anthology whose purpose is to show something of the existing latitude of thought in the Roman Church, quite obviously it will be impossible to review this book as a systematic whole. Certainly the editor's purpose has been at least partially achieved, as a number of examples of differing types of analysis have been brought together in these pages. One wonders, however, whether or not this point could not have been made in a

cheaper and less cumbersome book. Because most of these essays are excerpts from longer works, anyone really interested in *what* these men have to say, rather than the simple fact *that* they differ among themselves, will have to go to the unabridged original works themselves. The topics treated in these essays are always serious and for the most part quite complex. In the very nature of the case, to include as much as is possible from each contributor in such an anthology as this will never be to include as much as is necessary or desirable, adequately to show *what* the author has to say. This granted, \$15.00 is a big price to pay merely to be convinced *that* differences in Roman thinkers exist.

This is not to deny that the editor has chosen well both in regard to the men represented and the problems addressed. Some of the essays are from such well-known works as D'Arcy's *The Mind and Heart of Love*; Marcel's *The Mystery of Being*; and Gilson's *Christianity and Philosophy*. Of the articles which appear in this book for the first time anywhere, that of René Le Senne discusses Value, Personality, and God; Régis Jolivet attacks the nominalism of existentialism; and A. M. Krapiec tries to clarify the issues for a realistic epistemology.

One of the essays most handicapped by its removal from its complete context is that by Louis Lavelle entitled, "In the Presence of Being." For one thing, as this author is cut in upon he is arguing from the univocal nature of being which presumably he has previously established, but unfortunately that argument was or could not be included in this book.

To mention but two articles which are especially suggestive, this reviewer would call attention to the one entitled "On the Theology of Death" by Karl Rohner and "Christ, the Norm of History" by Hans Urs von Balthasar. The former has

some striking suggestions on the significance of death for the human person, and the latter offers some interesting possibilities as to the significance of Christ's activities in the forty days between his resurrection and ascension. A. A. V.

*The Sacred Canons.* By John A. Abbo and Jerome D. Hannan. B. Herder, 2nd revised edition, 1960. 2 Vols. pp. 1807. \$19.00.

The aim of this work is, in the words of the authors "a concise presentation of the current disciplinary norms of the Church". This presentation endeavors to be of use not only to the Roman Clergy, but also to laymen, by including translations of Latin technical terms and by giving copious explanatory matter. The skeleton of the work is a commentary on the 1917 Roman Code of Canon Law, and the annotations are quite thorough. This is a work of great practical value—the student and parish priest will find it extremely useful in their respective fields. It richly deserves the wide circulation it will attain. Although, its high price will preclude a wide circulation among Americans, every library and specialist will do well to acquire a copy.

It seems to be almost mandatory for an Anglican reviewer of such a work to elaborate on the pitfalls of "the over-legalistic approach of the Roman Church". But is this a rational point-of-view? If an organization, civil or ecclesiastical, is to have "disciplinary norms", it is certainly necessary that these norms, and their application to the day-by-day working of the organization, be known precisely. There may be (and rightly is) dispute over how many norms are necessary, but once the norms have been established, some kind of "legalism" is inescapable. Otherwise, the norms themselves cease to be regulative, and anarchy is the eventual result.

The reading of a work such as Bp. Han-



mon and Msgr. Abbo have produced can serve as a reminder to us of how far we have progressed down the road to anarchy. The illustrious tradition of Anglican Ecclesiastical Law has nearly fallen into oblivion. If even a superficial scanning of this book will recall to our minds the nature, function and necessity of Canon Law, and will spur us to return to the richness of our heritage, the time and effort will be well spent.

W. R. D.

*An Apostle of Freedom: Life and Teachings of Nicolas Berdyaev.* By Michel Alexander Vallon. N. Y.: Philosophical Library, 1960. pp. 370. \$6.00.

This work supplies us with a chronological account of the life of the Russian philosopher, introduced by a brief but helpful sketch of the Russian background, "where Christ and Dionysius meet." Berdyaev's search for the meaning of life and the various stages of his growth and struggle are well portrayed—his break with his own environment, his attraction to Marxism, followed by his reaction in the direction of Idealism and beyond Idealism to religion and finally to Christianity—the eve of the cataclysm, the war and revolution itself, his second exile, and life in Berlin and Paris. Perhaps the author attempts to cover too much ground in too little space—one hundred pages is scarcely adequate to trace such a life and development as that of Berdyaev—and the last chapter of this section ("From Moscow to Paris") is sketchy and lacks, inevitably, the intimate flavor of Dr. Lowrie's book.

The most valuable part of the work is the exposition of Berdyaev's teachings, which takes up about half the book. It is a bold enterprise to undertake the systematic presentation of the thought of a philosopher who is, at first sight, as un-

systematic as Berdyaev, and who leans so heavily on intuition, but Mr. Vallon does an excellent piece of work.

There is a lucid treatment of the philosopher's conception of God, of man, of the God-man Jesus Christ, of his Ethics, and his philosophy of history, followed by a critical evaluation of his thought. There is an interesting comparison of Berdyaev's philosophy with that of other existentialists and other kindred philosophers. The author joins battle for his philosopher, even in areas where most of his devoted followers give up. He attempts, for example, to defend his conception of human freedom as not given by God, but drawn from the abyss of nothing, the meonic stuff, the Ungrund which is co-eternal with God. Even Dr. Lampert and Professor Spinka were unable to follow Berdyaev into this theological smog, and Mr. Vallon's defense falls short of being convincing. And he fails to show how God's creating the world as a necessity of his own being, and the mutual need and dependence of God and His creation, can be reconciled with the Biblical conception of the God who freely created, and of the utter and one-sided dependence of creation on its Creator.

The observations of a French critic (Maritain, I believe) that Berdyaev's wealth of intuitions did not include the intuition of what it means to be a creature seems to this reviewer undeniable. And neither Beryaev nor the author who so ardently champions him appear to note the conflict of assured universal salvation with the freedom of man, which they so vigorously proclaim. And the criticism of the Council of Chalcedon (p. 197) is decidedly superficial.

There are too many misprints. "Gol-gatha" for "Golgotha" (p. 88), "Chaiseul" for "Choiseul" (p. 364), "Oirigen" for "Origen" (p. 360), "Tchaadoev" "Tcha-

adaev" (p. 370), are only a few of them.

Yet the defects of the book are far outweighed by its merits, and there are many who will join with this reviewer in welcoming such a systematic presentation of the thought of perhaps the most brilliant and original philosopher of our time—one who has put all lovers of truth and freedom in his debt.

W. H. D.

*Martin Buber: Jewish Existentialist.* By Malcolm L. Diamond. Oxford University Press, 1960, pp. 240. \$4.50.

Those who want to "locate" Martin Buber's thought in relation to other points of view will find his newest discussion of his thinking illuminating indeed. Professor Diamond not only places Buber against the background of those forces most formative in his thought—modern existentialism, Judaism and Hasidism—he also examines very carefully his position with regard to Christianity, where he has had more impact than at home. The depth of Buber's insight on all sorts of matters, from his concept of the "I-Thou" relationship to his views on the role of Israel, is made available to the reader without the neglect of important blind spots, especially with regard to St. Paul. However, one may ask whether the author himself appreciates how seriously Buber's negative attitude toward the priestly side of Old Testament religion distorts his view of the Biblical faith in both its Jewish and Christian manifestations.

J. F. P.

*An Immanuel Kant Reader.* Edited and translated by Raymond B. Blakney. Harper & Brothers, 1960, pp. 290 + xvii. \$5.00.

The editor of this volume will be known to many because of his edition of *Meister Eckhart*. He has brought forth not only a new but a fresh, in the sense of quite

contemporary and relatively non-technical English, translation of selected portions of Kant's writings. At places the translation becomes interpretive paraphrase. The vocabulary familiar to students of Kant has been considerably modified, to give only a few examples, as follows: *amplifying* for *synthetic*, *awareness* for *intuition*, *formal* for *transcendental*, *reasoning* for *reason*, *willing* for *will*.

A general introduction (prospectus, it is termed) and a commentary for each of the selections provide a helpful adjunct. One has the impression that this effort toward Kant "without tears" may help to create an interest in and lure the beginner to a deeper study of Kant and to more substantial works such as the translations by Max Müller, T. K. Abbott, and J. H. Bernard; to commentaries by Norman Kemp Smith, Edward Caird, and Theodore M. Greene.

One unnecessary obstacle, which might be corrected in future editions, for the reader is the absence of page references to previous translations or "standard" German editions. In fact, book and chapter references are given only for the *Critique of Pure Reason* (ing) and none for the other sections. This is further confused by lack of consistency in numbering the sections (alternation between Arabic and Roman numerals in same book) and a typographical error which locates one selection in Book II, Chapter 2, Section II when it should be Section III.

Dr. Blakney, who is, by the way, the President of Pierce College in Athens (Greece), has undertaken a formidable project and generally succeeded in providing an interesting and lucid sampling of Kant's thought.

A. D. K.

*The Pilgrim's Regress.* By C. S. Lewis. 3d edition, Eerdmans Publishing

Company, 1958, pp. 199. \$3.00, paper \$1.25.

After seventeen years and two British editions, this delightful allegorical apology now appears in its first American edition. Perhaps the most characteristic of all his writings, it is now made even more attractive by a new preface which contains most of the insight offered in the preface to the second edition. What is more, it is now available in paper at a price almost as low as the original English cloth edition.

J. L. M.

*Christian Proficiency.* By Martin Thornton. Morehouse Gorham Co., 1959, pp. 200. \$2.75.

Martin Thornton defines a "proficient" as "a mature Christian, more advanced than a Beginner, yet far from Perfection; a sound 'ordinary' Christian." This book is written for the guidance of such a person, or for the "spiritual director" of the proficient; one is not exactly sure at times which is uppermost in the author's mind as "audience."

The author is a sedulous seeker after "objectivity", being wary of anything overly "devotional" that lends itself to any possibility of sentimentalism. He thinks it important to take part regularly in a tripartite division of objective spiritual exercise consisting of Office, Eucharist and Private Prayer, the third of which is in turn divided into mental prayer, colloquy (with five subdivisions), and recollection. As to the Eucharist he warns against always expecting to "feel" Christ's presence in the sacrament. "Without much devotion or fervor, we can follow the action of the Eucharist with a cold and probably undistracted recognition of what it is" (p. 20).

The author is also annoyed by anything "Puritan," though he seems to use that word not in its historical denotation so much as in a pejorative way. "The Puri-

tan or Manichee looks on prime roast beef as a snare of the devil." That is only one of many references to Puritans, who, one suspects, have often enjoyed roast beef and its accompanying gastronomic delights as much as the next chap who, though wanting to be *very* ascetic, likes to feel free to do whatever he desires, being "as free as the bird, as the bee!"

This is a serious effort to be taken seriously by the reader. The "proficient" will discover for himself how many of these recommendations will minister to his needs. Or, his "director," having learned from these pages how to proceed, will *tell* the proficient what is best for him as he proceeds. There is a fine lot of mediaeval counsel brought up-to-date in this work; and though the author would probably not like the comparison, there is even a certain Quaker quality about his inner thrust, reminiscent of Thomas Kelly's *A Testament of Devotion*—practising God's presence twenty-four hours a day. The Glossary at the end of the book is a model of delightful, concise definition; e.g., "Religious. Another name for a monk or nun"; or "Spatial. Occupying or existing in space; thus Non-spatial means outside worldly experience; spiritual or heavenly."

K. B. C.

*Process and Reality.* By Alfred N. Whitehead. The Macmillan Company, 1960 (Reissue), pp. xii + 546. \$6.50.

First published in 1929, Whitehead's Gifford Lectures (Edinburgh, 1927-28) now appear in their fifth printing. From all appearances, this new printing was made from the same plates as those used for the first printing. An opportunity though the "corrigenda" have been moved to correct an error of long standing has been missed again in this edition; al- from page 547 to page 546, the Table of Contents continues to indicate their lo-

cation as page 545. An omission noted in the review of the book made in this journal (*ATR*, vol. xii, p. 351) has likewise persisted. These are minute points, however, for the continued demand for this seminal work will probably outlast several more printings. The development of a school of "process theology" justifies the continued reprinting of Whitehead's "Essay in Cosmology".

J. L. M.

*The Christian Today.* By Jean Danielou S. J. Trans. by Kathryn Sullivan. Desclee Co. Inc., 1959, pp. 150. \$2.75.

"The vocation to holiness is in no way opposed to the vocation to temporal tasks." "To be a saint is it enough to be baptised, or to receive communion? From our hearts comes the answer, No. From the depths of our hearts come Bloy's words; 'There is but one sorrow, that of not being a saint'." Based on such convictions as these Fr. Danielou attempts to map out a spirituality for the layman today. The layman must be true to the responsibilities and duties inherent in an existence in the contemporary world, and yet at the same time be immune to the characteristic errors and vulgarities, the vanities and invalidities, characteristic of its life and thought. The

author writes in terms of the traditional spirituality of the cloister—love, obedience, liberty, certitude, faith, hope and poverty—but in doing so translates them into terms which can be comprehended by the layman and absorbed into the lay life. The wisdom and richness of Christian experience which he brings to his tasks delights us on almost every page.

This is a splendid book! In these days we are so familiar with tortured neo-orthodox writing in which spirituality seems to be little more than a challenged secularity, a secularity consciously and rather hopelessly under the Judgment, that it is refreshing to read a book written in a realistic manner, filled with an awareness of the meaning of life in the world, which at the same time does comprehend the structure and values of genuinely spiritual existence, which sees that Christians in the world are nevertheless called to be saints, and that even in this world sanctity remains a possibility. We hope that no ecclesiastical prejudices will prevent people from reading this book merely because it happens to be written by a Roman Catholic. It is incomparably the best thing of its kind that has come within the experience of the present reviewer for many years.

J. V. L. C.

## BOOKS RECEIVED

*The New Translations of the Bible.* By E. H. Robertson. Naperville, Illinois: Alec R. Allenson, 1959, pp. 190. \$2.50. (Studies in Ministry and Worship No. 12)

*Die Genesis der Genesis.* By Otto Eissfeldt. Tübingen: J. C. B. Mohr, 1958, pp. vii + 86. DM 9.40.

*Creation and Fall.* A Theological Interpretation of Genesis 1-3. By Dietrich Bonhoeffer. The Macmillan Co., 1959, pp. 96. \$1.50 (paper)

*Introduction to the Bible.* By Kenneth J. Foreman, Balmer H. Kelly, Arnold B. Rhodes, Bruce M. Metzger, Donald G. Miller. John Knox Press, 1959, pp. 171. \$2.00 (The Layman's Bible Commentary, vol. 1)

*Hosea, Joel, Amos, Obadiah, Jonah.* By Jacob M. Myers. John Knox Press, 1959, pp. 176. \$2.00. (The Layman's Bible Commentary, vol. 14)

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- 1959, pp. 175. \$2.00. (The Layman's Bible Commentary, vol. 18)
- The Gospels translated into Modern English.* By J. B. Phillips The Macmillan Company, 1961, pp. 252. \$1.25 (paperback edition)
- The Letter to the Romans.* A Commentary. By Emil Brunner. Westminster Press, 1959, pp. 168. \$3.50.
- A Shorter Commentary on Romans.* By Karl Barth. John Knox Press, 1959, pp. 188. \$3.00.
- The Quest of the Historical Jesus.* By Albert Schweitzer. The Macmillan Company, 1961, pp. 413. \$1.95 (paperback edition)
- The Church in the Thought of Jesus.* By Joseph B. Clower, Jr. John Knox Press, 1960, pp. 160. \$3.50.
- Forerunners of Jesus.* By Leroy Waterman. Philosophical Library, 1959, pp. 156. n.p.
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- Notebook of a Colonial Clergyman.* By Henry Melchior Muhlenberg. Edited by Theodore G. Tappert and John W. Doberstein. Muhlenberg Press, 1959, pp. 250. \$3.50.
- Authority and Power in the Free Church Tradition.* A Social Case Study of the American Baptist Convention. By Paul M. Harrison. Princeton University Press, 1959, pp. 248. \$5.00.
- Political Thought: Men and Ideas.* By John A. Abbo. The Newman Press, 1960, pp. 452. \$5.75.
- Between God and Man.* An Interpretation of Judaism from the writings of Abraham J. Heschel Selected, edited and introduced by Fritz A. Rothchild. Harper & Brothers, 1959, pp. 279. \$5.00.
- Predestination and other papers.* By Pierre Maury. With a memoir by Robert Mackie, and a foreword by Karl Barth. John Knox Press, 1960, pp. 109. \$2.50.
- Between God and Satan.* By Helmut Thielicke. Translated by C. C. Barber. Oliver and Boyd, 1958, pp. 84. 10s 6d.
- Fides Quaerens Intellectum: La Preuve de L'Existence de Dieu d'après Anselme de Cantorbéry.* By Karl Barth. Translated by Jean Carrere. Delachaux & Niestle, 1958, pp. 157. Fr. s. 8.85. (To be reviewed)
- Immortalité.* By N. M. Luyten, A. Portmann, K. Jaspers, K. Barth. Delachaux & Niestle, 1958, pp. 71. Fr. s. 4.—
- The Structure of Nations and Empires.* A Study of the Recurring Patterns and Problems of the Political Order in Relation to the Unique Problems of the Nuclear Age. By Reinhold Niebuhr Charles Scribner's Sons, 1959, pp. 306. \$5.00.
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- We Are Now Catholics.* Ed. by Karl Hardt. With an introductory essay on Protestant Catholic relations in Germany by Sylvester P. Theisen. The Newman Press, 1959, pp. 223. \$3.95.
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- An American Dialogue.* A Protestant Looks at Catholicism and a Catholic Looks at Protestantism. By Robert McAfee Brown and Gustave Weigel. With a Foreword by Will Herberg. Doubleday & Company (Anchor Books), 1961, pp. 240. \$ .95 (paper)
- The Eastern Catholic Liturgies.* A Study in Words and Pictures. Text by N. Liesel, photographs by T. Makula. Foreword by Donald Attwater. The Newman Press, 1960, pp. 168. \$1.75.
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- Love or Constraint?* Some Psychological Aspects of Religious Education. By Marc Oraison. P. J. Kenedy & Sons, 1959, pp. 172. \$3.75.
- The Catechism Today.* Primary Principles of the Faith. By G. Ashton Oldham. The Seabury Press, 1961, pp. 141. \$1.75 (paper)
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- The Bread Which We Break.* By G. D. Yarnold. Oxford University Press, 1961, pp. 119. \$2.50.
- Grace and Glory.* By E. L. Mascall. Preface by the Archbishop of York. Morehouse Barlow. 1961, pp. 90. \$2.25. (Episcopal Book Club selection)
- We Call This Friday Good.* By Howard G. Hageman. Muhlenberg Press, 1961, pp. 83. \$1.50.
- The Spirit of Glory.* By F. W. Drake. Longmans, Green & Co., 1961, pp. 116. \$2.50 (Episcopal Book Club selection.)
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- Hear Our Prayer.* A Book of Prayers for Public Worship. By Roy Pearson. McGraw-Hill Book Co., 1961, pp. 174. \$3.75.
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- Worker in the Cane.* A Puerto Rican Life History. By Sidney W. Mintz. Yale University Press, 1960, pp. 288. \$5.00.



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